



# The Crusade Indulgence

Spiritual Rewards and the Theology  
of the Crusades, c. 1095-1216

*Ane L. Bysted*

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## The Crusade Indulgence

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*Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades,  
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*By*

Ane L. Bysted



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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bysted, Ane, 1971-

The crusade indulgence : text, context, and culture / by Ane L. Bysted.

pages cm. -- (History of warfare ; 103)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-90-04-28043-4 (hardback : alk. paper) -- ISBN 978-90-04-28284-1 (e-book) 1. Crusades.

2. Crusade bulls. I. Title.

D160.B97 2014

909.07--dc23

2014033849

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual 'Brill' typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities.  
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ISSN 1385-7827

ISBN 978-90-04-28043-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-28284-1 (e-book)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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## Preface

The preachers of the crusades often tried to persuade their audiences that in the business of the crusade there were immense spiritual wages to be gained for a short labour. Many times in the process of writing this study, which was originally defended for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Southern Denmark in June 2004, I have feared that the relation of labour and reward would be the opposite. What made it seem worthwhile after all has been the many inspiring persons and acts of good will which I have met on my way, and for these I would like to express my gratitude. First of all, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr.phil., Ph.D. Kurt Villads Jensen, who first directed my interest to the subject and never seems to grow tired of helping out with questions on difficult Latin texts. He and Dr.phil. John H. Lind and Ph.D. Carsten Selch Jensen practically adopted me as a fourth member of their research project on 'Denmark and the crusading movement' at the University of Southern Denmark from 1998 to 2001, and the discussions we have had as well as our trips and outings have been invaluable as inspiration and encouragement.

In the fall of 2000, I had the opportunity to spend three months at the University of Chicago, and I would like to thank Ph.D. Anthony Perron for his great help in making me settle in and for showing me around the campus and library. My gratitude also goes to Professor Bernard McGinn of the Divinity School who was my sponsor and granted me much of his precious time. The financial side of the stay was greatly furthered by a grant from the Fondation Idella, while a grant from Elisabeth Munksgaard Fonden made it possible to have the original manuscript proofread, and I would like to thank these foundations as well.

Carsten Selch Jensen, as well as Ph.D. Mette Birkedal Bruun, Ph.D. Per Andersen, and Ph.D. Janus Møller Jensen all read large parts of the original manuscript at critical stages, and I greatly value their comments and suggestions. Both Janus and Ph.D. Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt have been very helpful in sending me photocopies of rare books, and Iben also in showing me around the university library in Cambridge.

The present book is a slightly revised version of my 2004 Ph.D. thesis with minor additions and corrections. I would like to thank the members of my examining committee, Ph.D. Christoph T. Maier and Lic.theol. Ninna Jørgensen, for their helpful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank D.Phil. Brian Patrick McGuire for his kind acts and words of encouragement over the years.

My greatest debt of gratitude, however, is to my family; my parents, my sister, and above all to my husband, Bo, who stood by me through all the stages of this project and never ceases to express his belief in me.

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For reasons of readability, Latin sources are translated in the body text, but the Latin is usually given in the footnotes. Translations of Latin texts are my own if not otherwise stated in the footnotes. Biblical quotations are from the King James Version, because of its closeness to the Latin Vulgate. Proper names are given in the forms which I find are the most usual in Northern Europe.

## Abbreviations

|            |                                                                                                                                              |
|------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| DD         | <i>Diplomatarium Danicum</i> , eds. A. Afzelius et al. In progress (Copenhagen, 1938ff.).                                                    |
| Epp. vag.  | <i>The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VI</i> , ed. and transl. H.E.J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972).                                            |
| JL         | <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , ed. P. Jaffé, ed. secundum S. Loewenfeld, vols 1-2 (1888; repr. Graz 1956).                            |
| MGH        | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum</i> . In progress (1828ff.). |
| MGH Epp.   | <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae</i> vols 3-7: <i>Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi</i> , vols 1-5 (Berlin, 1892-1928).      |
| PL         | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus... series latinae</i> , ed. J.P. Migne, vols 1-221 (Turnhout, 1841-1895).                                    |
| PLD        | <i>Patrologia Latina Database</i> , 5 CD-Roms (London, 1995).                                                                                |
| RHC Oc.    | <i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux</i> , vols 1-4 (Paris 1866-1879; repr. in England 1967).                     |
| Reg.       | <i>Die Register Innocenz' III.</i> , eds. O. Hageneder et al. In progress (Graz, Cologne, and Vienna 1964ff.)                                |
| Reg. Greg. | <i>Das Register Gregors VII</i> , ed. Erich Caspar, vols 1-2 (Berlin 1923; repr. 1955).                                                      |



## Introduction

The starting signal of the crusades can be determined quite precisely. On 27 November 1095, Pope Urban II gave a great sermon at Clermont in which he incited and urged the French nobility to come to the rescue of the Eastern Christians and fight for the liberation of the Church in the East. The exact contents of this sermon has been the subject of much debate among modern historians, but it is without doubt that Pope Urban spoke of the proposed expedition as a meritorious act and that he promised those who took part in it a spiritual reward. The pope's proposal must have been prepared in advance, and the sermon itself was given as the conclusion of a church council at Clermont, which had discussed some of the terms of the expedition. According to the report of one of the participants in the council, Bishop Lambert of Arras, the council had given the following decree on the spiritual reward of the crusaders:

Whoever for devotion alone, not to gain honour or money, goes to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God can substitute this journey for all penance.<sup>1</sup>

The success of the expedition, with the conquest of Jerusalem itself in July 1099, secured the fame of this enterprise for later generations. Urban's promise of a spiritual reward was remembered, too. Later crusades were accompanied by a promise of spiritual reward based on the model of his promise – "*sicut a domino nostro papa Urbano statutum fuit*"<sup>2</sup> or "the same remission as instituted by Pope Urban at the council at Clermont for all going to Jerusalem to liberate the Christians"<sup>3</sup> – as later popes and councils decreed. Such promises of

1 "Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunia adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia ei reputetur." R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II. 1. Decreta Claromontensia* (1972), p. 74. Translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (1981), p. 37. This source will be discussed below in chapter 2.1.

2 First Lateran Council 1123, canon 10, in J. Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* (1962), pp. 167f.

3 "eadem remissio ... que per papam Urbanum omnibus proficientibus Ierosolymam pro Christorum liberatione in consilio Claromontano constituta est." Council in Pisa 1135, E. Bernheim, "Ein bisher unbekannter Bericht vom Concil zu Pisa im Jahr 1135" in *Zeitschrift für*

spiritual rewards became part of the standard privileges for crusaders and evolved into the institution of the crusade indulgence. In around 1230, after more than a century of crusading and promises of spiritual rewards, Paris theologian William of Auvergne<sup>4</sup> explained the use of indulgences for crusades thus:

If a king or prince is going to war he gives his commanders the power to seek out and recruit honourable warriors and give them good wages. Therefore, because the king of kings, the ruler of rulers, Christ, has been waging wars from the time when the Church took up war, not just spiritual wars, I say, but also literal or corporeal or material, against heretics and other enemies of the Christian religion, that is the heathens, and after the time of Muhammad, Saracens, he necessarily granted his commanders, that is the prelates, the power to seek out material warriors and to recruit them and give them proper wages. What is it, however, to preach indulgences and give promises for such warriors if not to seek them out and recruit them for the king of kings, Christ the Lord? And what is it to remit their enjoined penances if not to give them a share in the wages? For whereas the wages of sin is death, as it says in Romans 6, thus the wages for the greatest and most noble portion of such warriors will be the eternal wages. Furthermore; what king who is going to war does not open his treasury in order to spend on the warriors and to do other things which are required by the war: therefore the king of kings, Christ the Lord, opens his treasury and spends on his warriors: his treasury contains, however, the treasure of indulgence, grace, and glory.<sup>5</sup>

---

Kirchenrecht XVI (1881), pp. 150–1. Cf. also Eugenius III in 1145, PL 180: 1065b–1066 and *infra* Appendix 1.

4 William became bishop of Paris in 1228 and died in 1249; cf. N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* I (1922), p. 236. B. Switalski, “Introduction” to *De Trinitate* p. 5 n. 18 states that *De sacramentis* was written partly in 1223, partly after 1228.

5 “Si rex, vel princeps bellum habeat, dat potestatem ducibus suis perquirendi, & conducendi bellatores dignisque stipendijs remunerádi. Quia ergo rex regum, & dominus dominantium Christus bellum habuit à tempore, quo caepit ecclesia bellum inquam non solum spirituale, sed etiam literale, seu corporale, sive materiale contra haereticos, & alios Christianae religionis inimicos, videlicet paganos, & à tempore Machometi, sarracenos, necessariò dedit potestatem ducibus suis, id est, praelatis, perquirendi bellatores materiales, & conducendi eos, & congruis stipendiis remunerandi. Quid autem est praedicare indulgentias, & promittere huiusmodi bellatoribus, nisi eos perquirere, & conducere regi regum Christo domino? & quid est poenitentias eis inunctas remittere, nisi partem aliquam stipendiorum eis dare? quemadmodum enim stipendia peccati mors: sicut legitur 6. ad Rom. sic stipendia huiusmodi bella-

This account tells us, first of all, that the indulgences were considered a payment to the crusaders, and William of Auvergne furthermore claims that this spiritual reward was quite effective in attracting warriors to this cause.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, it is a very clear expression of the idea of the crusade as a war of Christ, and also of the relationship between Christ as the authority behind these wars and the prelates of the Church as his commanders. The crusades were not the wars of the Church, or of men, but of Christ. Finally, it is very apparent in William's text what was special about the crusades in contrast to other wars: the opportunity for the warriors to win a spiritual reward.

This idea of spiritual reward for participation in the crusades and its evolution in the institution of indulgences will be the subject of the present study.

What were the crusades, and where should we draw the line between genuine crusades and other kinds of wars? This question has been at the forefront of the debate among crusade historians since Hans Eberhard Mayer in 1965 pointed to the fact that, despite a long and thriving tradition of crusade studies, no one had yet come up with an "unambiguous, lucid, and generally accepted definition of the term 'crusade'."<sup>7</sup> This fact still appears to be true.<sup>8</sup> Part of the problem with finding a fitting definition is that medieval men and women did not give the phenomenon a special term until well into the thirteenth century; that is, when what we call crusades had been going on for about 150 years. Until then, they were often referred to as the "business of Christ", *negotium Christi*, or they were designated by the terms also used to denote pilgrimages, *peregrinatio*, *iter*, or ordinary campaigns of war, *expeditio*. If crusade historians had not yet been aware of the lack of a clear concept of crusades in the Middle Ages, it was made painfully clear to them by Christopher Tyerman in 1998 with *The Invention of the Crusades*, in which he posed the question

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torú pro maximâ ac nobilissimâ sui parte remuneratio aeterna erit. Amplius. Quis rex pugnaturus non aperit aerarium suum ad largiendû bellatorib', & alia facienda, quae bellum requirit: rex regum Christus dominus ergo aperit aerarium suum & elargitur bellatoribus suis: aerarium autem ejus thesauros continet indulgentiarum, gratiarum, & gloriarum." Guilielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis, *Opera omnia* (1674), vol. 1, pp. 551–2.

- 6 Guilielmus p. 552: "Quia ergo manifestum est, quòd stipendia remissionum, & indulgentiarum, maximè colligunt Deo exercitum, maximèque augent illum, & maximè vocant ad bellandum, maximè hujusmodi stipendia promittenda, & danda sunt bellatoribus Dei."
- 7 Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1965); the quotation is from the English edition of 1972, p. 285.
- 8 See the recent discussions by Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (2006), pp. 1–23; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (2008), pp. 3–32; Christopher Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (2011), esp. pp. 216–42.

“Were there any crusades in the twelfth century?” on the grounds that the phenomenon lacked both definition and coherent organization until after the Third Crusade in 1188–1192.<sup>9</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith has, however, argued that “Contemporaries knew perfectly well what a crusade was,” and that they recognised it on the basis of three elements: first, that participants were called upon to take a vow and to wear a cross; secondly that the call for the campaign was made by the pope; and thirdly, that the participants gained certain privileges, including the special crusade indulgence, which is the fourth element. These elements, according to Riley-Smith, were essential to the medieval understanding of crusades, and among these the indulgence carried a special importance: “it was references to it in papal letters that really informed people that a crusade was being promoted.”<sup>10</sup> The same relation between the indulgences and the definition of crusades has also been expressed by James Brundage: “The granting of this indulgence for any expedition may well be considered to define it as a crusade; expeditions for which it was not given can scarcely be considered crusades at all.”<sup>11</sup>

This definition solves the problem of how to distinguish between ordinary warfare and genuine crusades. It also settles the question of whether the concept of crusades should be applied only to the expeditions to the Holy Land, or if it should also be used for those expeditions in Spain and the Baltic region and against heretics and schismatics which in many ways resembled the campaigns in the Holy Land. According to Riley-Smith’s definition, an expedition should be included among the genuine crusades if the pope issued the indulgence privilege for it, since this means that it was regarded as a crusade in the Middle Ages, and therefore should also be regarded as one today. A traditionalist view would maintain that the crusades ended in 1291 with the loss of Acre, the last Christian stronghold in the Holy Land, and would count as crusades only those wars that were “aimed at acquiring or preserving Christian dominion over the Sepulchre of Our Lord in Jerusalem”.<sup>12</sup> This definition is still maintained by some crusade historians, among these H.E. Mayer, who prefer it on the grounds that it represents a clear-cut objective for the crusading enterprises in a geographically limited region.<sup>13</sup> This traditionalist definition thus appears to have the advantage of being both practical to work with for the

9 Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (1998); esp. pp. 8–29.

10 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* Fourth ed. (2009), pp. 2–4. (The definition is unaltered from the original version of 1977, p. 12.)

11 James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (1969), p. 145.

12 Mayer, *The Crusades* (1972), p. 283.

13 Ibid.



historian and of corresponding to what presumably was the objective of the First Crusade from 1095 to 1099: the dominion over Jerusalem. However, a growing number of historians have felt that this definition is too narrow, and that it does not take into account the many resemblances in organization and objective between the campaigns in the Holy Land and those within Western and Eastern Europe. Neither does it take into account that the rhetoric and institutions evolving around these campaigns were very similar and in some cases even indistinguishable. A definition based on the medieval use of terminology and privileges – and especially on the papal grant of the crusade indulgence as proposed by Riley-Smith – seems to reflect the contemporary medieval understanding better.

A definition based on the papal grant of indulgences is also quite a practical definition to work with for the historian, because the crusade indulgence seems to have been granted for virtually all the expeditions that have been linked to the crusading movement by newer research. This holds true especially for the later period, from which records of papal privileges are best preserved and in which the indulgence privilege had reached a standard form. With regard to the earlier period there are some cases in which it is difficult to establish that there was in fact a papal grant and whether this was truly an indulgence.

The definition based on the papal grant of indulgences has been termed an inclusive or pluralist definition, and one obvious consequence is that the concept of crusades has become much wider. This is probably part of the reason for its success among historians: that it can be applied widely and can connect phenomena in different areas of the European continent. The pluralist definition has had a profound impact on crusade historiography, and it has been an inspiration not least to scholars on the Baltic region and Scandinavia who have begun to evaluate their subjects and sources in the light of crusading ideology and institutions.<sup>14</sup>

The present study takes as its starting point the observation that it is no mere coincidence that the indulgence should be useful as a means of defining a crusade. The indulgence is not an accidental quality to crusading; on the contrary, it is an expression of the very essence of the matter, and of what makes this a special kind of war: that it is meritorious.

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14 See e.g. the contributions in Alan v. Murray, ed., *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150–1500* (2001), and Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen & Kurt Villads Jensen, eds., *Medieval History Writing and the Crusades*, (Studia Fennica Historica 9) (2004).

Thus the pluralist definition of crusades, in which the papal grant of indulgences carries a special importance, is also fundamental to the present study. What this study attempts to do, however, is to delve into the inner, religious meaning of the grant. What was this grant meant to signify, and what does it tell us about the ideas of those who proclaimed the crusades? And what does it tell us more generally about the ideology or theology of the crusades?

The crusade indulgences were the institutionalisation of the idea that fighting for Christ and the Church was meritorious in the sight of God, and thus worthy of a spiritual reward proclaimed by the Church. This is precisely why the indulgences are essential to the definition of crusades – they are signs that these campaigns were regarded as a special kind of warfare: wars pleasing to God. However, the institution of indulgences developed quite a lot during the history of the crusades; in fact, it can hardly be termed an institution at all in the eleventh and early twelfth century as it lacked both doctrinal clarification and a fixed terminology. By the time of the First Crusade, the idea of spiritual merit and reward could be expressed in ways that do not quite resemble the high medieval or modern indulgences. A recurrent question in the debate on the crusade indulgences has been whether some of the early grants of crusade indulgences were ‘real indulgences’, i.e. equal to the modern indulgences. Part of this debate seems to miss the point because it sticks to a too narrow or even anachronistic concept of indulgences. Instead, our subject will be how the idea of spiritual reward for crusades was expressed in the late eleventh and in the twelfth century, and how this was gradually laid down in the institution of indulgences. Therefore this study will look not only at the indulgences, but also at other forms of grants or authorisations of the idea of spiritual reward for crusades made by the Church. It will use the broader concept of ‘spiritual reward’ in order to also cover these other forms of grants. In other words, it will examine aspects of the conceptual history of the notion of spiritual reward for crusades, by looking at how this notion was represented in the period, and what it appears to have signified at different stages of its development.

A variant of the discussion over the ‘real indulgences’ has been the debate on whether the spiritual rewards for the early crusades were intended to have a so-called transcendental effect; that is, whether the popes intended their privilege to have an effect on the punishments in the hereafter, or if they were only meant as remissions of the penances in this life. I have chosen to name the theory that originally the crusade indulgences were not intended to have transcendental effects, the thesis of non-transcendence, or the ‘Gottlob thesis’, after the historian who first proposed it in a work on crusade indulgences, Adolf Gottlob in *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* from 1906. According to Gottlob

and later proponents of the theory, the crusade indulgences were non-transcendental from the First Crusade until the Second Crusade, when Eugenius III also included a promise of forgiveness of the temporal punishments imposed by God in his crusading privileges. Then followed a period of shifting and uncertain opinions until the transcendental effect was firmly established by Innocent III in his crusading bulls.<sup>15</sup> H.E. Mayer subscribed to this thesis in his very influential *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, and he further maintained that Pope Urban II and the council at Clermont chose the words of the privilege to the crusaders with great care, and that they deliberately chose not to grant the crusaders a privilege with a transcendental effect.<sup>16</sup> This question is very important to the present study. If it is correct that the early crusade indulgences were not transcendental, and that it was with full deliberation that the popes chose not to give their privileges this character – that is, that they saw the options and chose to grant non-transcendental indulgences for the crusades – then it means that the popes had some very serious reservations with regard to the meritorious character of crusading. The question of transcendence implies the question of the belief in divine sanction of the crusades as holy wars. It also implies the question of the authority of the Church to interpret the will of God and to promise its members a spiritual reward in the eyes of God. The present study will consider both of these questions, and thus also tells part of the story of a growing self-awareness and confidence of the Church in the proclamation of spiritual merit for wars on behalf of Christ.

Modern research on the ideology and motivation behind the crusades has to a large extent been focused on the question of the recruitment of crusaders and on how the impact of the calls for crusades could have been as powerful as they were. Thus, it has tended to focus on the ideas of the lay people and knights, and on what made these classes susceptible to the call for crusades. Far less attention has been brought to the question of what the theologians of the age thought about crusades – or, if this question has been considered, it has mainly been as a sort of preliminary work meant to throw light on the intentions of the knights. The present study takes the opposite approach. It aims to study the attitude of the learned theologians and the Church hierarchy towards the crusades. How did they explain the authority of the Church to proclaim cru-

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15 See the discussion of the historiography below, chapter 1.2.2.

16 First published in 1965, see the eighth German ed. (1995), pp. 28–40. Published in English as *The Crusades* in 1972; a second English ed. appeared in 1988, reprinted in 1996, see pp. 23–37.

sades against its enemies and promise its defenders a spiritual merit? How did they argue that warfare could be meritorious?

The main focus of this study is the period from the proclamation of the First Crusade in 1095 to the end of the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). However, parts 2 and 3 will exceed this time span in order to look at the precursors of Pope Urban's grant in 1095, and to cover also the early development of indulgences in the eleventh century as well as the culmination of their doctrinal definition in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Part 4 consists of a survey of the formulas of indulgences of papal proclamations of crusade indulgences. The year 1216 has been chosen as the terminal point of this survey for several reasons. Innocent III is generally regarded as a most important figure for the development of the crusade, a reorganizer and invigorator of the movement, and his pontificate certainly was a decisive point in the formation and development of the institutions of the crusade. It saw both the refinement of institutions that had been invented during the first hundred years of the movement, and marks the beginning of new trends of development. His tenure is also significant with regard to the crusade indulgences, which in the hands of Innocent III became a very flexible instrument for papal policies. The formula of crusade indulgences, which previous popes had changed almost from one to the next, reached a final form with the one used by Innocent III, which became the standard formula used for crusades into the sixteenth century. Innocent III also instituted plenary indulgences for sending a substitute on crusade, and he facilitated the access to partial indulgences for spending alms and for devotional contributions. In this way, participation in the crusade became open to virtually everybody, and this means that the ideas of the meritorious character of crusading changed. It was no longer an enterprise mainly for the knights who put their lives at stake for the cause, and the reward was not given just for the will to give this ultimate sacrifice, but could also be obtained by persons who remained safe at home. Likewise, the Fourth Lateran Council (1214–15) admonished all of the clergy to pay a twentieth of ecclesiastical income for the aid of the Holy Land on the basis that they thus gained the opportunity to participate and share in the merit as well as in the rewards of the crusade.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Cupientes autem alios ecclesiarum praelatos necnon clericos universos et in merito et in praemio habere participes et consortes, ex communi concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnino clerici tam subditi quam praelati vigesimam partem ecclesiasticorum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium Terra sanctae..." Ed. Alberigo, pp. 244–5.

Part 5 looks at the same sources as part 4, but from a different perspective, and deals with the theological justifications in these papal bulls for granting the spiritual rewards to crusaders. By examining what arguments the popes gave to support the claim that crusading was indeed meritorious, we will gain a picture of their crusade ideology. Part 6 examines how this ideology was communicated to the public by way of sermons.

The sources for the study can be divided into three main groups: papal letters, scholastic tracts, and sermons. These are three very different genres that each had its own established norms of composition, and each of them confronts the interpreter with different sets of questions. The papal letters were composed in accordance with the rules for the medieval diploma in which each part of the letter has a special function, and the statements of the letters should of course be interpreted with regard to what part of the letter they occur in. The letters also pose difficulties in relation to sender and receiver. Who actually wrote the papal letters, and did the addressees ever receive them? It is, of course, a matter of convention to say that Alexander III or Innocent III, for example, "wrote" the letters of their pontificates, when clearly they could not have written as many letters themselves. In our connection, however, it is not so important to establish who actually wrote these letters, since it is not the personal opinions of the popes that are being examined, but the official opinion of the Church hierarchy.

The scholastic tracts were also composed in accordance with certain established conventions, and these demanded that questions were approached in a dialectical way, listing several arguments, both pro and con, before the solution was stated. Here, the interpreter must try to determine what was the author's own opinion and what were only preliminary stages in the argument. Moreover, this genre was very 'introverted', in that the scholastic tracts were written exclusively for other masters and students of theology, and thus it is hard to say if the opinions in them are representative of the views of anyone outside this limited group. The tracts represent the views of the theologians, and not necessarily the official opinion of the Church, nor the views of the lay people. By the end of our period, however, there was a growing interest among the theologians to reach out to the public in order to educate it in the basic principles of faith, and by then we may assume that the views of the theologians and the public began to interact.

Finally, the sermons are an expression of an interest in reaching out to the public. They were also, of course, given with the specific purpose of persuading as many as possible to take part in the crusade, and thus the sermons do not necessarily reflect the personal opinions of the preachers, who may have

emphasised the arguments that they thought would be the more effective. This particular problem is, however, more relevant for the time after our period when sermons were presumably more often composed by the help of preaching manuals, which came into use from the beginning of the thirteenth century. More important is the fact that the reproductions of the sermons that we have in the sources of our period are usually much shorter than the actual sermons must have been. This leaves us with the question of what the preachers could have said in the rest of the sermons, and indeed of the relation between the sermons and reports of them.

These questions must all be considered in our investigation of the concept of spiritual reward for crusades during the pontificates of Urban II through Innocent III.

### 1.1 Definition of Indulgences

The question of how to properly define the indulgences is not an easy one. The indulgence does not appear to have been defined either by canonists or theologians before well into the thirteenth century; at least, we have no sources from within our period that contain such a definition. Moreover, the practise of granting indulgences was under development during this time, and therefore a definition that may apply to them at one end of our period may not be adequate at the other end.

One way to go about it is to take the modern, canonical definition of the Roman Catholic Church today as a point of reference and see where and when this is matched by the medieval sources. This has been the approach of a large part of the research on the subject by both theologians and historians. Such an approach obviously implies the risk of anachronisms and evolutionism, but since there is no easily detachable early medieval definition it can be a practical and justifiable approach. Here we will also start by looking at the modern definition; not in order to measure the medieval indulgences by them, however, but to clarify the basic concepts of the definition of indulgences.

Canon 992 of the present-day code of canon law of the Roman Catholic Church, issued in 1983, says that:

An indulgence is the remission before God of the temporal punishment for sin the guilt of which is already forgiven, which a properly disposed member of the Christian faithful obtains under certain and definite conditions with the help of the Church which, as the minister of redemption,

dispenses and applies authoritatively the treasury of the satisfactions of Christ and the saints.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the most important elements of this definition are:

1) that indulgences are remissions of the *temporal punishment* due for sin, which is to say that they are not remissions of the eternal punishment in Hell, nor are they remissions of the guilt for sin. Thus the definition implies a distinction between temporal and eternal punishments, and between remission of the punishment for sin and of the guilt of sin. When someone commits a sin he inflicts upon himself both the guilt of having sinned and the punishments for sin. The guilt of sin will lead to the eternal punishments in Hell if it is not forgiven before he dies, but the Church administers the remedy for this in the absolution granted after confession. When sins are confessed and the absolution is given, the guilt has been remitted and the sinner will not end up in Hell. However, he might still have a temporal punishment to perform in order to purify himself. Temporal punishments comprise a) the penances enjoined by the Church after confession as well as b) the punishments in Purgatory. It is the function of the indulgence to lighten and remit both the penances in this life and the punishments in Purgatory. The function of the indulgence is not to remit the guilt of sin, because this has already been forgiven at the absolution.

2) Indulgences are *remissions before God*: the Church has the authority to remit these temporal punishments, including those in Purgatory, because it has the authority over the treasury of the merits of Christ and the saints. The indulgence is conceived as a payment out of this treasury.

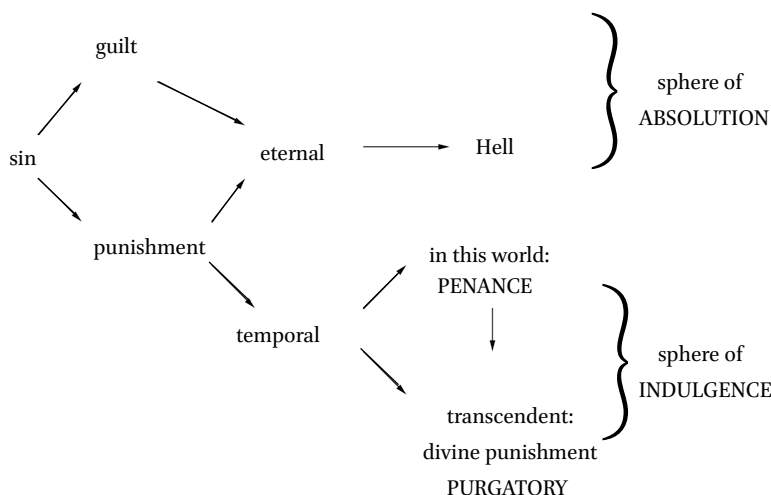
3) Indulgences are remissions of penances, but not a part of the sacrament of penance itself, in which the guilt of sins is forgiven at the absolution spoken by the priest when he has heard the confession. Indulgences may only be obtained after the sins have been confessed and the guilt for them forgiven at the absolution.

Thus, the distinctions between guilt and punishments, and between temporal and eternal punishments, are very fundamental to this modern definition. The implication is that the remission of guilt and the remission of temporal punishments are two very different things. The remission of the guilt for sins belongs to the absolution and to the other sacraments in which the members of the Church can gain “the remission of sins”, by which the guilt for sin is forgiven by God’s grace. The indulgence, on the other hand, is a remission of the temporal punishments and is not sacramental, i.e. it does not grant the remission of sins.

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18 *Code of Canon Law. Latin-English Edition* (1983), p. 365.

The following chart illustrates the different spheres of the absolution and the indulgence, and the elements and distinctions of the modern definition:



CHART

*This chart illustrates the objects of the absolution and the indulgence respectively. Reading from left to right, sin has a double consequence: the sinner incurs both the guilt for having sinned as well as the punishments for sin. The punishments are both eternal and temporal. If the guilt of sin is not remitted it will lead to an eternal punishment after death – that is, in Hell. However, the Church administers the remedy for this in the absolution of sins. If the sinner goes to confession and gets absolution from his priest, the guilt of sin is remitted, and he will not end up in Hell. However, there may still be a temporal punishment left to be served, either as penance in this life or in Purgatory. If the penances are not done in this life, they are transferred to Purgatory. The temporal punishment may, however, be remitted in an indulgence, either partially or fully. The object of the indulgence is this temporal punishment for sin, after the guilt of sin has been absolved.*

The modern definition of indulgences is the product of centuries of discussion among theologians, canon lawyers and popes, but even if the words of this definition are modern, it is actually not so far from a late medieval conception; the essence of it goes back to the scholastic definitions by Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century and by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine in the sixteenth.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The definition by Thomas Aquinas will be discussed below in chapters 3.2.5 and 3.2.6. Cardinal Bellarmine in *Disputationum de indulgentiis* from 1599 summarized the scholastic tradition on indulgences and incorporated it into the post-tridentine doctrinal system. According to his definition, indulgences are jurisdictional remissions of punishments, accompanied by a compensation from the treasury of merit over which the pope has the



However, it does not necessarily say much about how indulgences were construed before this process of clarification and definition began in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The implied distinctions between temporal and eternal punishments, and between remission of guilt and remission of punishments do not appear in theological works before the 1120s and 30s, and the concept of the treasury of the merits of Christ did not evolve before the thirteenth century. These were the features of what some historians choose to call 'the mature indulgence',<sup>20</sup> that is, the indulgence as it appeared in the scholastic works from the middle of the thirteenth century. Moreover, it was only with the introduction of these distinctions that a division between the penances imposed by the Church and the possible additional punishments that God might impose in Purgatory, if the penances have not been sufficient, was spelled out clearly. Thus, only then was the concept of God's temporal punishments carved out, and this is the object of the question of the transcendental effect.

It is not to be expected that all these distinctions were met by the early medieval indulgences and this has troubled scholarship on the subject. In the absence of a contemporary definition, researchers on the medieval indulgences have tended to set up some minimum criteria for when to accept a certain grant as an 'actual indulgence'.

First, it has to be evident that the grant concerns the *remission of the temporal punishment* due for sin. This usually means that it has to remit a specific amount of the penances imposed by the Church. All scholars seem to agree on this criterion, but difficulties sometimes arise when working with the sources, especially from the early period, with regard to determining whether a grant is actually meant to remit penances or not.

A second criterion is that this remission is granted *generally* to all who fulfil certain conditions, and not individually to one specific person only. However, some of the leading scholars find that this criterion is not essential and also accept individual remissions as indulgences.<sup>21</sup>

The present study will not insist on the second criterion either, because some of the grants of spiritual rewards for crusades in our period were actually made to individual princes, but clearly had the same function and theological implications as the general grants. Instead, it will point to a third feature that

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absolute power, and they are unconditionally valid before God. Cf. G.A. Benrath, "Ablass" in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 1 (1977), pp. 355f.

20 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (1997), p. 71.

21 Bernhard Poschmann, *Der Ablass im Licht der Bussgeschichte* (1948), pp. 58–9; Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* 1 (1922), p. 20.

seems to capture the function of the indulgences better, but which has not been brought up in previous attempts at a definition: That it is granted for the support of a specific purpose, e.g. a crusade or the construction of a church. Indulgences were *privileges granted for specific purposes*, and this fact defines their character much better than whether they were granted individually or generally. They were instruments of policy, granted by popes and prelates, in line with other kinds of privileges.<sup>22</sup>

As stated in the introduction above, this study will look not only at the indulgences but also at the broader concept of spiritual rewards, but when it is necessary to distinguish the 'actual' or 'real' indulgences from other promises of rewards in the period before c. 1230, the term 'real indulgences' will refer to grants of remissions of temporal punishments for sin, granted for specific purposes, bearing in mind, of course, that the indulgence was an institution under development in this period, and therefore hard to pin down with a rigid definition.

All modern definitions agree that the indulgences remit temporal punishments, not the guilt of sins. However, both in the Middle Ages and in modern times indulgences can be signified by the words *remissio peccatorum*. This may seem confusing, and as late as the 1890s and 1920s it was a basis for polemics and accusations from Protestant scholars who found that it proved that indulgences were supposed to mean the remission of guilt.<sup>23</sup> A further complication arises from the fact that from the middle of the thirteenth century, the plenary crusade indulgences were often described as indulgences *a poena et culpa*, for both punishment and guilt. In the fourteenth century, the popes themselves began to use the formula *a poena et culpa* for the jubilees and crusades. This formula, too, has led to misunderstandings and to accusations from Protestant scholars who have found that Martin Luther's reaction against the indulgences was justified by this "appalling" invention: that the remission of guilt for sins could be bought for money.<sup>24</sup> However, Nikolaus Paulus, author of the standard reference work on indulgences, has given a credible explanation for this formula. According to his research, the formula *a poena et culpa* does not actually mean indulgence for guilt. It was a popular expression for the plenary indulgences, meaning that they covered the punishments of all sin. According to Paulus, the use of this formula did not alter the official theology of indul-

<sup>22</sup> See below chapter 4.1: The crusade indulgence as a privilege.

<sup>23</sup> See examples quoted in Paulus I, pp. 253–9.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. Theodor Brieger in his article on "Indulgenzen" in *Realenzyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* IX (1901), p. 86: "Sprach denn das nicht aller Dogmatik Hohn?"

gences, and medieval theologians did not defend this expression. However, the use of it might be explained by the fact that the indulgences were always granted on the condition that the recipient had already been to confession and been granted absolution for his sins. Thus, consequently, his guilt had already been remitted and the *a poena et culpa* could be seen as a statement that, after obtaining the indulgence, all the consequences of sin had been lifted. Furthermore, in many cases the papal indulgence privileges were accompanied by a privilege to the confessor to absolve the guilt of sins, also in cases normally reserved for the pope. In these cases, the two privileges taken together could in short be termed *a poena et culpa*.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.1.1 *Problems Related to Confessional Disputes*

As one of the principal factors setting off Martin Luther's criticism of papal authority and consequent break with the Catholic Church, the subject of indulgences has remained a matter of controversy and dispute, and their history has received very different treatment from Catholic and Protestant scholars. Well into the twentieth century, Protestant scholars have felt called upon to criticise this institution,<sup>26</sup> and Catholic scholars have felt obliged to defend it. These disputes have also had an influence on how scholars on either side have defined the indulgences and how they have looked upon their history.

Today, it is universally agreed that indulgences were not in use in the early Church and did not emerge until the eleventh century, but this consensus has not always existed. The counter-reformation council of Trent (1545–63) discussed the subject of indulgences up against the Protestant attacks, and declared that the power to grant indulgences had been delegated to the Church by Christ himself, and that the institution had been in use since the earliest times of the Church.<sup>27</sup> In 1564, the first of these statements was incorporated into a declaration of faith by Pope Paul IV, binding to all Catholic teachers and

25 Paulus II, pp. 137–48; III, pp. 330–73. Thomas Lenten, "Einleitung zur 2. Auflage" in N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter I* (2000), pp. xxi–xxii.

26 "Die Indulgenzen oder Ablassse stellen eine der schlimmsten Entartungen des religiösen Lebens in der römisch-katholischen Kirche dar." Thus Theodor Brieger in 1901 opened his article on "Indulgenzen" in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* IX, p. 77.

27 Council of Trent session 25, Decree concerning indulgences: "Whereas the power of conferring Indulgences was granted by Christ to the Church; and she has, even in the most ancient times, used the said power, delivered unto her of God; the sacred holy Synod teaches, and enjoins, that the use of Indulgences, for the Christian people most salutary, and approved of by the authority of sacred Councils, is to be retained in the Church; and It condemns with anathema those who either assert, that they are useless; or who deny

students.<sup>28</sup> However, from time to time, Catholic historians have also tried to defend the second claim that indulgences were as old as the Church. This was especially true of scholars of the nineteenth century Romantic Movement, who admired the universalism of the Roman Church and emphasized its inner accordance with the eternal and immutable divine logic. Whereas Catholic scholars of the Enlightenment had been critical towards the indulgences, the Romantics showed a new interest in them and claimed that the fully developed teaching on indulgences had existed immanently but “unconsciously” also in the early Church, and that the essence of indulgences has been changeless even if their form has changed in the course of its history.<sup>29</sup>

Much of nineteenth-century Catholic scholarship was influenced by this way of thinking in its efforts to find examples of indulgences from the oldest times, and ascribing them even to St. Paul (in 2 Cor. 2:5–11) and to St. Cyprian.<sup>30</sup> However, most Catholic scholars of the twentieth century abandoned this approach, and focused on the development of the indulgences as an institution of the Church, instituted by human powers and emerging in a specific historical context.<sup>31</sup> In 1948, the Catholic theologian Bernhard Poschmann even opened his book on the indulgences by stating that “Der Ablass ist eine kirchliche Einrichtung, die im 11. Jahrhundert aus dem Bussverfahren herausgewachsen ist [...] Wenn der Ablass nicht göttlicher Einsetzung ist, vielmehr das Ergebnis bussgeschichtlicher Entwicklung, dann kann man auch nur auf geschichtlichen Wege zur rechten Erkenntnis seines Wesens gelangen.”<sup>32</sup>

Still, much of twentieth-century Catholic scholarship on the subject was inspired by an attempt to reformulate the theology of indulgences for the modern world, leading up to a discussion at the Second Vatican Council (1965) and a new apostolic constitution by Pope Paul VI in 1967.<sup>33</sup> This means that research

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that there is in the Church the power of granting them.” <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/trent.html>, pp. 277–8.

28 Cf. Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* III (1896), pp. 3–9, 417ff.

29 Benrath, pp. 357–8.

30 Cf. Paulus I pp. 2–6, and Lea III pp. 131ff, who both refuted this interpretation.

31 Exceptions are J. Hilgers, *Die katholische Lehre von den Ablässen und deren geschichtliche Entwicklung* (1914), (cf. review by B. Poschmann in *Theologische Revue* 13: 10 (1914), pp. 289–93), and J.E. Campbell, *Indulgences. The Ordinary Power of Prelates Inferior to the Pope to Grant Indulgences* (1953).

32 Poschmann 1948, Vorwort.

33 The work towards a ‘modernization’ was led by B. Poschmann and Karl Rahner. Their views were met with some opposition at the Vatican II, and only a few of them were adopted by the apostolic constitution of 1967. See Herbert Vorgrimler, “Busse und

on the medieval indulgences has continued to be inspired by a contemporary agenda, even if it has been conducted by the standards of modern historical scholarship.

## 1.2 Historiography of the Crusade Indulgences

Research on the crusade indulgences has generally been pursued from two different angles, that of history of theology and doctrine, and that of history of the crusades, and the correspondence between these two approaches or groups of researchers has not always been very close. As a consequence, theses that have been abandoned by the first group have had a long afterlife in the second. In the following, these two strands will be treated separately, and we will look first at the historians of doctrine and then at the historians of the crusades.

### 1.2.1 *The Historiography Within the History of Theology and Doctrine*

The theologians and historians of doctrine have treated the development of the crusade-indulgences only as one instance of the history of indulgences in general. However, the crusade indulgences have enjoyed a rather prominent place in their work because this type of indulgences has been found to have been very important in the general formation of the institution of indulgences. A major work in the early scholarship on the history of indulgences is the monumental *Commentarius Historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti poenitentiae* by Johannes Morinus from 1651, which printed many of the most important sources on the subject. It seems to have had only limited influence on later scholarship, however.<sup>34</sup> The most productive period of research on the history of the indulgences has been the years from c. 1890 to 1923, which saw numerous articles and books on the subject. In this period, the discussion was centred on the aforementioned question of when the indulgences emerged, and from what roots they originated. If the indulgences had not existed since the early Church, then how did they come into being? The answer of most scholars was to look for precursors of the indulgences in earlier traditions and practises in relation to the administration of penances in the early medieval

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Krankensalbung" in *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* IV, f. 3 (1978), pp. 212ff, and G.A. Benrath, pp. 360–3.

34 Cf. Karl Müller: "Der Umschwung in der Lehre von der Busse während des 12. Jahrhunderts" in *Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstage 11. December 1892 gewidmet*, eds. A. Harnack et al. (1892), pp. 287–320, here p. 289.

Church. Two different types of traditions or institutions attracted the most attention in this debate, and the scholars may be divided into two groups according to which institutions they found were the most important: 1) One group found that the indulgences arose out of the *commutations* and *redemptions* of penances. 2) Another group held that they arose out of the general *absolutions* for sins. The commutations and redemptions were substitutions of penances, administered individually to penitents by their own priests, who could decide that the penances they had enjoined could be exchanged into another form of penance. Thus a period of fasting could be commuted into a payment of alms or to recitation of prayers, but only on the condition that the substitution was just as hard as the original penance. The general absolutions, on the other hand, usually included a reduction of the burden of penances, but not in any concrete measure. They were used by popes and bishops in sermons and letters and were granted generally, either to all listeners or to those who fulfilled certain conditions.<sup>35</sup>

As we shall see, these two different views on the origins of the indulgences have been very fundamental for the views on the nature and development of indulgences, almost to the point that the division between the two views has been even more fundamental to the historiography than the confessional divisions. By the turn of the twentieth century, the discussion over these issues was still very much entangled in confessional disputes, attacks, and apologies, but this does not mean that the Protestants chose the one answer and the Catholics the other. Actually, both Catholics and Protestants can be found in both groups, and they borrowed arguments from each other, but held them for different reasons.

One of the first major works in this wave of research on the indulgences was *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* by the American historian Henry Charles Lea from 1896. Lea is one of very few Protestants ever to have written substantially on the medieval indulgences. A main objective of his book was to demonstrate the point that the indulgences had not existed since the days of the early Church, but were introduced in the eleventh century. This fact had not yet been generally recognized by Catholic scholars, but in the way Lea pointed this out he may have overemphasized their opposition, and it is not unwarranted that he won himself a reputation of being anti-Catholic. However, his book was a substantial contribution to scholarship on the matter and he did receive recognition for his wide reading and

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35 More on these institutions below in chapter 3.1.1: The Emergence of Indulgences.

for uncovering the material his book is based upon, even in Catholic circles.<sup>36</sup> His work on the development of the indulgences has been superseded by later works, but some of the questions he posed are still of interest and have not been sufficiently answered yet.

Lea pointed to the commutations of pious works as the origins of the indulgences. These were a consequence of the power ascribed to bishops and priests to mitigate or prolong penances according to the circumstances and the deserts of the penitent. It began as reductions of penances for individual penitents who made pilgrimages for instance to Rome, and then gradually in the eleventh century certain shrines gained privileges to grant indulgences of fixed terms to all their pilgrims.<sup>37</sup> Lea also found that the crusades were important for the development of the indulgences, in fact he claimed them to be “the principal source of evolution of indulgences”, but he did not go into much detail about them.<sup>38</sup>

Practically the same answer as to the origins of the indulgences was given by the great Catholic scholar on the subject, Nikolaus Paulus, in his monumental *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* in three volumes, published 1922–23. This work was the culmination of this era of research on indulgences, and it virtually represents a life's work of the Alsatian theologian and historian, prepared by numerous articles since the 1890s. The work is still the standard reference work on the subject and was reissued in 2000.<sup>39</sup>

Paulus' work covers a wide field of sources, and he was able to establish a continuity in the history of indulgences both in relation to administration and to theology. As a Catholic, it was especially important for Paulus to emphasize that the medieval theologians were not diverting from the Christian tradition on penances, and here he may have overlooked some of the problems the twelfth-century theologians had with explaining and legitimising the indulgences.<sup>40</sup> His work has been labelled “apologetic”, for instance by crusade historian H.E. Mayer,<sup>41</sup> and church historian Bernd Moeller has remarked that while Paulus' exposition and analysis was admirable and very knowledgeable, it was still caught up in an approach which regarded the indulgences in the

36 Cf. Adolf Gottlob, *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass. Eine Studie über die Frühzeit des Ablasswesens* (1906), p. 5; *New Catholic Encyclopedia* VIII (1967), pp. 584–5.

37 Lea III, pp. 9–11.

38 Lea III, pp. 152–4.

39 By Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt. On the life and work of N. Paulus see the introduction by Thomas Lentjes in this edition, pp. vii–xxxix.

40 Cf. Lentjes p. xxi.

41 H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd edition (1996), p. 293, n.15.

light of an ahistorical, perennial theology.<sup>42</sup> This criticism is not unjustified, but on the other hand it should be noted that Paulus was not as apologetic in his approach as most of his contemporaries, whether Catholic or Protestant.<sup>43</sup>

It was important for Paulus to stress the continuity in the history of penance while he also made it very clear that proper indulgences did not occur before the eleventh century. The indulgences arose out of the individual commutations and redemptions of penance that had been practised since the early Middle Ages – but at the same time they also represented something new. In contradistinction to the commutations and redemptions, they did not seek an equivalent substitution for the penance. The recipient was usually obliged to perform a certain pious work in order to obtain the indulgence, but this was not nearly as hard as the amount of penance that was remitted.<sup>44</sup> The sinner escaped by doing less penance if he gained an indulgence, and thus – we may add – the indulgence implied a gift of grace. Usually, indulgences were also granted generally to all who performed the certain pious work, e.g. visited a holy shrine or paid alms to a church, but Paulus stated that it was not essential to the nature of the indulgence that it was granted generally, and that individual indulgences existed in the Middle Ages as well as in modern times.<sup>45</sup>

Paulus gave considerable attention to the crusade indulgences, both with regard to their origins and to their development and application until the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> He found that in the history of indulgences, “nehmen jene Ablässe, welche die Päpste den Kreuzfahrern, den Vorkämpfern der Christenheit gegen den Islam, zu erteilen pflegten, eine der ersten Stellen ein.”<sup>47</sup> Like the indulgences for alms and visits to churches, they came into being during the eleventh century. As the first crusade indulgence he counted Alexander II's grant of full remission of penances to those who fought the Moor in 1063. The crusade indulgences did not evolve from the other kinds of indulgences, however, but both sprang from the same roots in the redemptions and arose in a parallel development.<sup>48</sup>

42 Bernd Moeller, “Die letzten Ablasskampagnen. Der Widerspruch Luthers gegen den Ablass in seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang” in *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, ed. H. Boockmann et al. (1989), pp. 539–67, here p. 539.

43 Cf. Lentjes, pp. iiv–xvii; R.W. Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury. Indulgences in Latin Christendom 1175–1375* (2007), p. 17.

44 Paulus I, pp. 13–9.

45 Paulus I, p. 20.

46 Paulus vol. I, pp. 195–211, vol. II, pp. 25–60, vol. III, pp. 195–230.

47 Paulus I, p. 195.

48 Paulus I, p. 195.



An answer of the second group, i.e. that indulgences originated in the general absolutions, was given by Adolf Gottlob in *Ablassentwicklung und Ablassinhalt im 11. Jahrhundert* from 1907: the indulgences arose out of the general absolutions in privileges granted by bishops and popes, and in direct opposition to Paulus it was categorically refuted that they could have had anything to do with the individual redemptions.<sup>49</sup> This study was an off-spin of Gottlob's *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* from 1906, in which he had not dealt very much with the absolutions, but the underlying concept of indulgences was the same; in this work, Gottlob also stated as a necessary part of the definition of indulgences that they were granted generally, and had to be distinguished from the individual redemptions and commutations.<sup>50</sup>

*Kreuzablass und Almosenablass* has long remained the only monograph on the subject of crusade indulgences; for this reason it shall be dealt with at some length here, and since Gottlob moderated some of his conclusions in the second book, that will also be discussed. In the 1906 book, Gottlob traced back the indulgences for giving alms to a number of privileges granted to visitors of churches in the Spanish *reconquista* area by the second decade of the eleventh century. The meaning of these privileges he claimed to be a permission for penitents (who were otherwise excluded from entering a church) to enter this church and to attend the mass, provided that they personally assisted in the building of it. Gottlob emphasized that it was granted for the personal, manual labour, and named it an *Arbeitsablass* (indulgence for manual labour).<sup>51</sup> This indulgence emerged "entirely of its own accord"<sup>52</sup> out of the need for workers for the reconstruction of churches in the region after the conquests from the Muslims, and only when circumstances demanded was it transformed into the indulgences for giving alms for the churches instead. Gottlob's evidence for the existence of such an *Arbeitsablass* does, however, seem a bit skimpy, and he actually withdrew this interpretation in his second book.<sup>53</sup> In this, he maintained that the essence of the privileges in question was actually the permission to attend the mass even for penitents, which he claimed to be a cancellation of their status as penitents and of a part of their penances while they resided

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49 Gottlob 1907, pp. 1–13, 16.

50 Gottlob 1906, pp. 3–4.

51 Gottlob 1906, pp. 195–254.

52 Ibid., p. 205.

53 Gottlob 1907, p. v. It was refuted by Paulus 1, pp. 37–38.

at the church.<sup>54</sup> Included in these privileges was also a formula of heavenly pardon, which took the form of an absolution for sins at around 1035.<sup>55</sup>

In *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass*, Gottlob also traced the origins of the crusade indulgences, and found precursors of these in the blessings granted to warriors by the papacy since Leo IV in 853. These developed into the crusade indulgence in three stages. The first stage was when Leo IV gave an authoritative promise that those who died in war against the infidel would gain eternal life. The second consisted of the promise of remission of penances for those who died in such a war, and Gottlob found that this was granted for the first time by John VIII in c. 877. The third and final stage was when this promise was extended also to the surviving warriors, as happened in a grant by Alexander II in 1063.<sup>56</sup> At this point, their development was influenced by the indulgences for giving alms, which were granted to the living, and the 'real' crusade indulgences for surviving crusaders owed their existence to them.<sup>57</sup>

The main achievements of Gottlob's studies lie in his endeavours to track down the historical origins of the indulgence in the privileges granted to churches, monasteries, and crusaders. He insisted that historical scholarship on the indulgences should regard them first of all as political resources of the papacy and bishops, and as institutions invented to further their means.<sup>58</sup> However, his analysis of the individual sources does not always seem convincing;<sup>59</sup> many of his sources have later been proved to be unauthentic,<sup>60</sup> and thus his conclusions are not well founded. At several points it seems furthermore that Gottlob betrayed his declared aim to approach the subject with a "historical eye" (as opposed to a theological eye), as when he declared that it was a pity that the question of the remissions of penances for warriors of faith was not solved by the prudent Gregory VII but by the absolutistic Urban II.<sup>61</sup> Clearly, Gottlob regarded the indulgences with scepticism and saw them as the main factor behind an exteriorisation of religious life in the Middle Ages.

Gottlob's works were received by a great deal of criticism, especially from Nikolaus Paulus, who for instance devoted an entire chapter to the refutation

54 Gottlob 1907, pp. 18, 23. This interpretation was also refuted by Paulus I, pp. 32–37.

55 Gottlob 1907, pp. 31, 41.

56 Gottlob 1906, pp. 18–36.

57 Gottlob 1906, p. 37, Gottlob 1907, p. 32.

58 Gottlob 1906, pp. 2–3, Gottlob 1907, pp. 8–10.

59 E.g. his interpretation of the grant by John VIII in 877. For a discussion of this see below chapter 2.2: Spiritual rewards for warriors before the First Crusade.

60 Paulus I, pp. 32–43, 132–7.

61 Gottlob 1906, pp. 60–61. Cf. also pp. 88–90, 269, 298.

of the claim that indulgences arose out of the general absolutions.<sup>62</sup> The two of them even engaged in a polemical debate with very personal overtones. However, reviews of the work in historical and theological journals were also reluctant to comply with Gottlob's conclusions and with his exclusion of individual remissions in the history of indulgences.<sup>63</sup>

In 1948 Bernhard Poschmann published *Der Ablass im Licht der Bussgeschichte*, based on the study by N. Paulus as well as on his own research on the institution of penances. Even though he agreed with Paulus on many points, he nevertheless found that the indulgences mainly grew out of the institution of absolutions. In fact, he found that both the absolutions *and* the commutations played a part in the origins of the indulgences, and that the indulgences could be regarded as a sort of combination of these two earlier practices. Like the absolutions they were episcopal grants of mercy, given for certain pious works. Like the commutations they referred to a specific amount of penances, and Poschmann agreed with Paulus that the indulgences were mitigations of penances that did not demand equivalent substitutions for the original penance.<sup>64</sup> Poschmann found that this combination of absolutions and reductions of penances was spelled out directly in the earliest documents of indulgences, which were stated as remissions of specific parts of enjoined penances together with an unspecific absolution for the punishments that God might impose.<sup>65</sup> The latter part is to be understood as an intercessory prayer for God's forgiveness of the punishments, and not as a ruling on the part of the Church that God would absolutely forgive it. According to Poschmann, the indulgences of the eleventh and twelfth century did not promise a direct effect on God's part of the temporal punishment. This did not mean that they did not intend any effect on this part of the punishments, however, only that the exact transcendental effect was, so to speak, left for God to decide. It was only in the course of the thirteenth century that the indulgences began to be conceived as direct remissions also of the punishments in Purgatory. This did not imply an alteration of the essence of the indulgences, Poschmann argued, because the transcendental effects had been intended from the very beginning, but it meant that the transcendental effect was then based on the jurisdictional powers of the Church,

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62 Paulus I, pp. 39–119.

63 See W. Köhler in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 9 (1909), p. 270; P. Fournier in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* 10 (1909), pp. 575–85; and *Historische Zeitschrift* (1907), pp. 365–6.

64 Poschmann 1948, pp. 53–4.

65 Poschmann 1948, pp. 49–50; Poschmann 1951, p. 115.

and was no longer a matter of intercession alone. Thus, the jurisdictional powers of the Church were extended into the hereafter, Poschmann stated.<sup>66</sup>

Since the publication of Paulus' work in 1922–23 the indulgences have been the subject of a number of shorter works and articles, but no one has endeavoured to write a major new history of their development from their origins to the Reformation. Perhaps the very monumentality of Paulus' work has had an inhibiting influence on further research. Thus, in 1989 Bernd Moeller wrote that its "kleinscholastischen Art" had paralysed the discussion on the subject for decades.<sup>67</sup> This means that the major lines of Paulus' work still stand, particularly with regard to the doctrinal development. In recent years, however, a number of scholars have conducted studies of certain aspects of the indulgences; for instance, Moeller has made a new study of the selling of letters of indulgences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>68</sup> Other scholars have analysed the indulgences as aspects of medieval religious culture and practice, and among these Robert W. Shaffern has seen the indulgences and the doctrine regarding them as the response of thirteenth-century intellectuals to the new religious culture which emerged in the twelfth century.<sup>69</sup>

### 1.2.2 *The 'Gottlob Thesis' and the Transcendental Effect*

One question that has been haunting research and debate on the crusade indulgences in particular is the question of whether they have always been intended to have a transcendental effect or if they only gained this quality somewhere along the history of their development. The thesis that in the beginning they were *not* intended to have a transcendental effect was put forward by Gottlob in *Kreuzablass und Almosenablass*. He stated that the early indulgences did not claim to affect the hereafter because they were only a remission of the earthly part of the temporal punishments for sin, that is of the penances imposed by the Church, and not of those temporal punishments for sin that were imposed by God.<sup>70</sup> Thus, the indulgence granted by Urban II for

66 Poschmann 1948, p. 88.

67 Moeller 1989, p. 539. Thomas Lentes agreed to this in 2000, cf. Lentes p. xxv.

68 Moeller 1989. For other recent studies on late medieval indulgences see R.N. Swanson, ed., *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (2006).

69 R.W. Shaffern, "Images, jurisdiction, and the treasury of merit" in *Journal of Medieval History* 22:3 (1996), pp. 237–47; Shaffern, *The Penitents' Treasury. Indulgences in Latin Christendom, 1175–1375* (2007). A bibliography of studies on indulgences after N. Paulus can be found in the introduction to the 2000 edition of his *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* pp. XL–LIX.

70 Gottlob 1906, pp. 91ff.

the First Crusade was not a transcendental indulgence – though Gottlob allows that Urban seems to have had a vague idea of such an effect.<sup>71</sup> Only with the proclamation of the indulgence for the Second Crusade by Eugenius III is the idea of a transcendental effect obvious for the first time according to Gottlob.<sup>72</sup>

Gottlob's definition of a transcendental indulgence is not very precisely stated, but it appears to be based on 2 elements: 1) that the indulgence is supposed to also remit God's part of the temporal punishments, and 2) that the pope or prelate who grants the indulgence claims to have the authority to secure this effect. It is not enough that the indulgence decree implies that God will hopefully agree to the remission, it has to state that he will actually do so. In the vocabulary of the theologians: it is not enough that the remission is deprecatory, based on an intercessory prayer of the grantor; it has to be stated in the indicative as an act of jurisdiction.

In this thesis, Gottlob was inspired by the Protestant theologian Theodor Brieger, who had stated that the indulgences went through a reorganization (*Umbildung*): originally they meant only remissions of penances, but due to changes in the penitential practise and in the theology of penances, their form was given a new content and their effects were extended also to the transcendental parts of the temporal punishments. According to Brieger this took place at the turn of the thirteenth century.<sup>73</sup>

In Gottlob's version, the reorganization took place about 50 years earlier, by the time of Eugenius III and Bernard of Clairvaux. However, the transcendental effect did not become fully established before c. 1200, and up until this time it was a matter of dispute.<sup>74</sup> According to Gottlob, the idea of crusade indulgences had first originated in a logical deduction from the effects of the remissions of sins in the hereafter to effects in the temporal world: because it was believed that those who fought for Christendom were certain to gain eternal life, the Church also granted them the remission of the earthly penance it had imposed. Later, the idea of a transcendental effect originated in another logical deduction, this time from the effects in this life to the effects in the hereafter: because the Church remitted its own part of the punishments for sin, God would also remit his part. From this, it followed that the Church did not only

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71 Ibid., p. 92.

72 Ibid., p. 105.

73 Brieger, pp. 80–1.

74 Gottlob 1906, p. 255.

remit the punishments that it had imposed itself, but also God's temporal punishments.<sup>75</sup>

The thesis is closely related to the question of a shift in the penitential system. Both Gottlob and Brieger were inspired by Karl Müller, *Der Umschwung in der Lehre von der Busse während des 12. Jahrhunderts* (1892), who stated that a radical change took place in the penitential system by the end of the eleventh century. The change meant that the absolution for sins, which had hitherto been enunciated when the sinner had finished his penance, was moved so that it was granted before the penance was performed.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the process of justification seemed reversed: the sins were forgiven before the purifying work of penances, and Müller described how it forced the theologians of the twelfth century to reconsider the theology on penances. This was a complicated process and we shall return to it in chapter 3.1.2. What matters here is that according to Gottlob, the change also meant that the penances acquired a satisfactoral character that they had not had before. In the old penitential system, penances were fundamentally voluntary and were meant to be proof of the inner conversion of the sinner, which in turn was the grounds for granting him the absolution. After the change, when the sinners received absolution before the performance of penances, their vindicative purpose was very much emphasized. Also, it appeared that the purpose of doing penance could only be to serve the justice of God, and therefore God's remission of the penances became utterly necessary.<sup>77</sup>

This radical change in the penitential system took place by the time of the First Crusade, according to Gottlob. He himself saw the main achievement of his book to be its demonstration that the indulgence was the "main culprit" in the dissolution of the old penitential system,<sup>78</sup> and that the crusade indulgences played the decisive role because the crusaders were the first who received absolution of their sins before they performed their work of satisfaction.<sup>79</sup>

Urban II was not, however, able to foresee all the consequences of the displacement of the absolution, and that it would become necessary to secure the transcendental effect and God's remission of the temporal punishment. As noted, the thesis claims that Urban's indulgence for the First Crusade was only

75 Gottlob 1906, p. 91.

76 Müller, "Der Umschwung in der Lehre von der Busse während des 12. Jahrhunderts" in *Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstage 11. December 1892 gewidmet*, ed. A. Harnack et al., pp. 287–320, here pp. 297–9.

77 Gottlob 1906, pp. 93–4.

78 Gottlob 1906, p. vii: "... ist der Ablass als der Hauptschuldige an dem bis jetzt unerklärten Untergange der alten Bussdisziplin nachgewiesen."

79 Gottlob 1906, p. 93; Gottlob 1907, p. 55.

a remission of the penances enjoined by the Church, and Gottlob tries to prove this by going through all the evidence for Urban's grant at Clermont. His criteria are not explicit, but apparently he looks for positive statements that Urban claimed that he had the authority over God's forgiveness of the transcendental punishment. His arguments are a little weak, however, as he has to resort to reading between the lines to find proof of his thesis: "Dass diese Absolution nun aber die Befreiung von der Bussleistung, nicht von der culpa, bedeutete, die Befreiung von dem, was für die Kreuzfahrer besonders beschwerlich war, das ist zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen."<sup>80</sup>

This is not the only point in Gottlob's arguments which seems weak:

1) First, Gottlob may be demanding too much of the sources when he looks for positive and explicit statements of transcendental effects. Also, Gottlob's own criteria are not explicitly stated, but appear somewhat muddled, as in the quotation above where he speaks of the guilt for sins, and not the transcendental punishments.

2) Secondly, there are the questions concerning the penitential system. Newer research on the history of penances has established that the "*Umschwung*" happened earlier; the absolution was moved by the beginning of the eleventh century and not by the end.<sup>81</sup> This means that the crusades cannot have been the decisive factor, because the crusaders were not the first to have their sins remitted before the penitential act. Instead, the new practice of granting absolution before the penance must be seen as the background for Urban II's grant at Clermont. It is also hard to reconcile Gottlob's idea of voluntary penances with the impression of the old penitential system that one gets from reading the penitential handbooks of that era. Penance may have been voluntary in principle, but in reality it seems more likely that they were perceived as an obligation.

3) The concept of "penances of the Church only" is very problematic. It would seem to presuppose exactly those distinctions between temporal and eternal punishments and between guilt and punishment that were not developed until c. 1120/30. There is no evidence of a conceptual distinction between the penances enjoined by the Church and the temporal punishments of God in the eleventh century. Thus, it is hard to imagine what such a concept would have meant before these distinctions became commonplace. Moreover, the concept of "penances of the Church only" implies a very problematic

<sup>80</sup> Gottlob 1906, p. 71.

<sup>81</sup> Poschmann 1948, p. 24; Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement du pénitence au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1949), pp. 47–8.

ecclesiology. The thesis of non-transcendence seems to presuppose that it was not a problem for the Church to remit penances, because these had been enjoined by the Church in the first place.<sup>82</sup> Administration of penances was then merely a matter of internal discipline and it was within the jurisdiction of the Church to shorten penances. But this does not correspond to a medieval concept of penances. Penance was enjoined by the Church, but they were not performed just for the Church; it is not possible to make a division between God and the Church as the body of the faithful in this respect. Penance was enjoined in order to give the sinner a chance of purifying himself of his sins, and the Church acted as minister of God's grace when it enjoined them. The penitential system emphasised that the penances had to correspond to the sins, and the reason was that only thus could the sinner be purified and gain the remission of sins. In other words, the penances had a transcendental effect – i.e. on God's forgiveness.

N. Paulus noted that the proponents of the thesis of non-transcendence had not stated any evidence for it, and he criticised it exactly on the point of the concept of penances:

Wie aber von jeher der Kirchenbusse eine überirdische Wirksamkeit zugeschrieben wurde, wie dazu dienen sollte, der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit die schuldige Genugtuung zu leisten, so wurde auch dem Ablass, wodurch die Busse zum Teil oder gänzlich nachgelassen wurde, bereits im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert eine Wirksamkeit vor Gott zugeschrieben. Es sollte durch den Ablass dem Büsser etwas erlassen werden, was er Gott schuldig war, nämlich die zu leistende Strafe.<sup>83</sup>

This pertained to both the crusade indulgences and the other indulgences. With regard to the crusade indulgences, Paulus found proof of their intended transcendental effects in that they were granted explicitly also to those who were killed in the crusade. If the indulgences meant only a remission of the penances of the Church, they would have no value for those who died, since they were freed from penances by death anyhow. Consequently, Paulus found it justified to assume that right from the beginning, the popes must have had the idea that their remissions also had an effect before God.

Penances had transcendental effects, and consequently remissions of penances also had transcendental effects. Poschmann agreed on this, and stated

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Gotlob, p. 49.

<sup>83</sup> Paulus I, pp. 260–1. Paulus refutes the thesis of non-transcendence on pp. 259–67.



that the effect of the indulgence was supposed to be the same as the one the penance would have had, even if (in the same way as with penances) it could not be said for certain how complete the transcendental effect would be.<sup>84</sup>

The differences in the views on the penitential system and on the efficacy of penances are, furthermore, the reason behind the fundamental differences in the ideas of the origins and effects of the indulgences. According to Gottlob, the penitential system was essentially voluntary, and the redemptions or commutations of penances happened on the initiative of the penitent, who could decide for himself what kind of satisfaction he wanted to perform.<sup>85</sup> According to Paulus and Poschmann, however, the commutations were acts of the powers of the priests, and thus they could include an act of grace. In Gottlob's view, the commutations did not include a grant of grace, which was a necessary element in the indulgences, and consequently the commutations did not have anything to do with the indulgences. On the contrary, they originated in the absolutions which were jurisdictional grants of grace.

These fundamental differences furthermore have consequences for the criteria on which to decide if a given privilege is actually a real, transcendental indulgence. Following the views of Gottlob, it is not enough if a privilege states that the penance is substituted by some other pious work. It should also contain a grant of grace by the powers of the issuer, and consequently, the followers of this thesis look for statements of absolution or *remissio peccatorum* in the privileges.

On the other hand, if we follow the views on penances of Paulus and Poschmann, penances have transcendental effects in themselves, and commutations have transcendental effects as well (according to Paulus, indeed, indulgences are essentially commutations). As a result, it is not necessary to have other, more obvious statements that the indulgence is meant to be transcendental. This is already granted by the fact that the privilege is meant to have the same effect as the penance would have had.

Despite the scathing criticism of Gottlob's thesis, it has had a profound impact on the way crusade historians have regarded the crusade indulgences.

### 1.2.3 *The Historiography Within Histories of the Crusades*

Historians of the crusades have long regarded the indulgences as intrinsic to crusades. In his classic interpretation from 1935, Carl Erdmann recognized them as an important element in the development of the idea of crusade, al-

84 Poschmann 1948, p. 56, 58, 62.

85 Gottlob 1907, p. 9.

though he did not discuss it in much detail.<sup>86</sup> However, the multi-volume *A History of the Crusades*, edited by Kenneth M. Setton (1955–89), hardly mentioned the indulgences at all and the word does not appear in the index.<sup>87</sup> To more recent historians, the indulgences have become a decisive and indispensable part of the very definition of crusades, as already pointed out in the Introduction above. Thus, in his seminal essay on *What were the Crusades?* from 1977, Jonathan Riley-Smith counted the indulgence as one of three basic elements which defined the crusades, together with the taking of vows and the general call of the pope, and this definition has gained wide acceptance in recent years.

Other historians have focused on the indulgences mainly because of their role in the mobilization of the crusaders. Hans Eberhard Mayer regarded the indulgences as a principal motive for taking the cross, a motive that “was to put all the others in the shade”,<sup>88</sup> and he devoted 12 pages to it in his very influential *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, which first appeared in 1965 and has since been reissued several times.<sup>89</sup>

The institutional side of the indulgence as being a privilege granted to crusaders and its incorporation into canon law has been studied by James Brundage in *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*. Brundage also found that the indulgence must have been a most important motive for taking the cross.<sup>90</sup> An earlier study of the development of the indulgence as a privilege is contained in Michel Villey, *La croisade. Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* from 1942. Villey saw the indulgence as an expression and institutionalisation of the belief in the salutary character of the crusade, and found that “L'indulgence plénière fondée par Urban II est l'expression juridique précise de ce caractère salutaire de la croisade.”<sup>91</sup>

In the discussion on the development and nature of the crusade indulgences, the grant by Urban II has attracted the most attention. There are two main reasons for this. First, the decree by Urban II has been studied intensely because it is supposed to have reflected Urban's own idea of what the expedition was about. Secondly, it has been the centre of much debate because of the confusingly ambiguous formulations in the sources. The received text of the

86 Carl Erdmann, *Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (1935; repr. 1955), esp. pp. 316–7.

87 Norman Daniel's article in vol. VI pp. 3–38 mentioned them in relation to the development of the legal definition of the crusades, but not their significance for the mobilization nor their theological meaning.

88 Mayer 1996, p. 23.

89 In the German edition of 1985 pp. 28–40; in the English edition of 1972 pp. 25–40.

90 Brundage 1969, pp. 139, 144–5.

91 Michel Villey, *La croisade. Essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (1942), p. 148.

Clermont canon (which is quoted in the Introduction above) has been taken to imply that the journey was to be a commutation of all penance, and this might also be the meaning of a letter from Pope Urban to Bologna. However, in letters to Flanders and to Catalonia, Urban stated that the expedition was enjoined for the remission of all sin. Michel Villey on his part did not find that Urban had not expressed himself clearly with regard to the indulgence; on the contrary, he found that in the letter to Bologna, Urban confirmed the definition of the indulgence “avec une précision parfaite”.<sup>92</sup> Later French scholarship, such as that represented by Jean Richard, does not seem to find the discrepancy problematic either.<sup>93</sup> However, most of the later German- and English-speaking historiography has agreed that the question is not simple at all, and has seen a contradiction between the statements that refer to commutation of penance and those that refer to remission of sins. Some historians have found that Urban could not have had a clear concept himself of what he was granting. Others have found that he must have expressed himself carefully, but that Urban’s grant was not a real indulgence at all, and certainly not a modern, ‘developed’ indulgence. In this discussion, Gottlob’s thesis has had a great influence.

In fact, a large part of those crusade historians who have occupied themselves with the crusade indulgences have followed ‘The Gottlob thesis’ or at least certain aspects of it. In particular, the part of the thesis that states that the crusade indulgences were not intended to have transcendental effects before the pontificate of Eugenius III and his crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores* has gained wide acceptance. In *Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernhard von Clairvaux bis Humbert von Romans* from 1939,<sup>94</sup> Valmar Cramer stated that Eugenius III had a clearer concept of the indulgences than Urban II, and whereas Urban had only spoken of the remission of the outer penitential punishments enjoined by the Church, Eugenius for the first time included also the forgiveness of the temporal punishments imposed by God. Eugenius granted this with reference to his power of the keys, as successor to Peter, the prince of apostles.<sup>95</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux agreed with the pope on the transcendental

92 Villey p. 142.

93 See Jean Richard, *The Crusades c. 1071-c. 1291* (1999); idem., “Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l’indulgence” in *Deus qui mutat tempora* (1987); idem., *L’Esprit de la Croisade* (1969).

94 In *Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Palästinahefte des deutschen Vereins vom heiligen Lande, 17–20, ed. v. Cramer and G. Meinertz (1939), pp. 43–204.

95 Cramer p. 48.

character of the indulgence, and he spread the idea of it in his crusade propaganda. However, with the failure of the Second Crusade, the belief in a transcendental effect of the indulgence was shaken, and Eugenius' successor, Alexander III, avoided ascribing such extensive transcendental effects to it in his crusade bulls.<sup>96</sup> This account follows Gottlob's quite closely.<sup>97</sup>

Giles Constable subscribed to the main lines in the first part of Cramer's account in his study of *The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries* from 1953, and declared that it was "essentially ... correct."<sup>98</sup> Constable found, however, that Cramer might have exaggerated the extent of conscious innovation in the crusading bull of Eugenius III, but agreed that this bull was important because "the transcendental implications were here fully developed" for the first time.

H.E. Mayer's version of the thesis is more independent and also much more elaborate, and he has clearly incorporated some of the criticism put forward by Poschmann. The main point in Mayer's argument is that Pope Urban and the council at Clermont chose the words in the crusading canon with great care, and that they deliberately did not use the words *remissio peccatorum*.<sup>99</sup> This phrase literally means the remission of sins, but Mayer stated that it meant, and has always meant, the remission of temporal punishments for sin, i.e. including both penance and the temporal punishments in the afterlife.<sup>100</sup> Urban and the council only wanted to grant a remission of the canonical penances, and therefore they used the words *pro omni poenitentia reputetur* instead. What happened then was that the preachers of the crusade actually told people that there was a transcendental reward to be gained by going on crusade, and in the minds of the preachers and the people the message of Clermont was reinterpreted and understood as granting *remissio peccatorum*. This reinterpretation was responsible for the success of the call for the First Crusade because it met a need in the public: the full remission of all temporal punishments for sin, an offer that had never before been promised.<sup>101</sup>

In Mayer's view, the transcendental indulgence was a product of this popular reinterpretation and was not invented by the papacy. However, the curia did nothing to impede the popular idea of the Clermont decree, and Urban II himself used the words *remissio peccatorum* in his letter for the people of Flan-

96 Cramer pp. 48–53.

97 Cf. Gottlob 1906, pp. 110–3.

98 Giles Constable, "The second crusade as seen by contemporaries" in *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 215–79, here pp. 249–52.

99 Mayer 1995, pp. 34–5; Mayer 1996, p. 31.

100 Mayer 1996, p. 30. (This is less clearly stated in the original German version, cf. 1995 p. 35.)

101 Mayer 1995 p. 37–9; Mayer 1996 p. 33–6.

ders. Only slowly did the idea gain foot in Rome, but eventually “it became necessary for popes to make this interpretation their own.” This happened by the time of the Second Crusade when Eugenius III looked back to the chronicle accounts instead of Urban’s privileges for models for his crusading bull, and picked the formula *remissio peccatorum*, which was thus “brought ... into prominence.”<sup>102</sup>

Much of Mayer’s thesis is thus dependent on the meaning of the formula *remissio peccatorum*, but it is highly doubtful whether this was as firmly established by the time of the First Crusade as Mayer claimed. He himself mentioned that it was not expressly defined as the remission of temporal punishments for sins before the time of Huguccio (d. 1210). Mayer gives no references, but he probably refers to Huguccio’s commentary to Gratian’s *Decretum* c. 88 D. I *De poenitentia*, which states that the *remissio* is furthered by the shame felt in confession.<sup>103</sup> To this Huguccio remarked on the word *remissio*, that it means the remission of temporal punishments.<sup>104</sup> From the context it may be gathered that the remission in question is the remission of sins, but the equation of *remissio peccatorum* and the remission of temporal punishments is thus not very clear even in Huguccio. Moreover, since the works of Paulus and Poschmann, to which Mayer refers in the note, do not support it, his claim that it “had always been used to mean the remission of temporal penalties including those of the next world” stands as an unproven assertion.<sup>105</sup> Mayer was, however, convinced that it had always carried this meaning, and attacked Poschmann for having another opinion.<sup>106</sup> We will return to the question of the meaning of *remissio peccatorum* below.

<sup>102</sup> Mayer 1995, p. 37; Mayer 1996, p. 33.

<sup>103</sup> “Erubescencia enim ipsa partem habet remissionis.” *Decretum* c. 88 D. I *De poenitentia*.

<sup>104</sup> Huguccio’s comment is printed in Fr. Gillmann “Zur Ablasslehre der Frühscholastick” in *Katolik* 1 (1913), pp. 367–8. Cf. Paulus 1, pp. 220f; Poschmann 1948, p. 75.

<sup>105</sup> Mayer 1996, p. 30, cf. note 15 pp. 293–5.

<sup>106</sup> Mayer criticised Poschmann for trying to reconcile the formula of the Clermont council with the *remissio peccatorum* formula, by “making an unproven assertion that at this time *remissio peccatorum* meant only the remission of penance” (1996 pp. 30–31). This seems to miss the point in Poschmann’s argument (1948 p. 56f). Poschmann stated that the early indulgences, including the one for the First Crusade, were first of all remissions of the canonical penances, but made on the presupposition that this remission had an effect on the transcendental punishments (see above). Poschmann then touched on the question why the sources often have the words *remissio peccatorum* instead of *remissio injunctae poenitentiae*, which would seem more appropriate, and stated that *rem. pecc.* might at this time mean both the remission of enjoined penances and be a prayer for the remission of the transcendental punishments without a remission of the canonical penances. The

At the beginning of his account, Mayer duly emphasized the fact that the theology of indulgences had not yet been worked out by the First Crusade, and that this must be taken into consideration when determining the early crusade indulgences. It is especially pointed out that the distinction between guilt and punishment was first drawn up by Hugh of St. Victor in the twelfth century, and that teachings on the treasury of merits were only formulated by Hugh of St. Cher in about 1230.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, it does not seem as if Mayer fully appreciated these facts himself. Thus, he still spoke of “the Church’s traditional doctrine of indulgences” as something existing at the time of Clermont,<sup>108</sup> and he presupposed that the theologians already had a clear idea of temporal punishments and of the difference between remission of penances and of temporal punishments.<sup>109</sup>

But how does Mayer know what was on the minds of the pope and council in Clermont? It is hard to prove that it was in fact after due deliberation that they decided not to use the words *remissio peccatorum*. Also, Mayer might have attributed too much authority to the received text of the Clermont canons. As we shall see in the following chapter, it is by no means certain that the words in Lambert of Arras’ account reflect the exact formulations reached at Clermont.

Mayer’s thesis of a distortion of Urban’s original message is consistent with his theory that Jerusalem was not the goal Urban had set up for the crusade in his speech at Clermont. Urban’s plan was the liberation of the Eastern Churches in general, and it was popular enthusiasm for the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre that made Jerusalem the focus of the expedition.<sup>110</sup> This interpretation was influenced by Erdmann’s account. Erdmann on his part had steered clear of the question of the transcendental effect. He noted the difference in the formulations of the Clermont council and the letters, but he did not find it problematic. The council decreed the remission of penances because this was the correct formula in terms of canon law. However, the difference between remission of penances and sins “war für die Welt bedeutungslos”,<sup>111</sup> and this is

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meaning of the formula was not fixed, and has to be established in each case by looking at the context.

107 Mayer 1995, p. 29.

108 Mayer 1996, p. 36; 1995 p. 39.

109 Mayer 1996, p. 31: “in fact the men who tell us about the remission of the penalties due to sin [i.e. in the crusade propaganda] were trained in theology and well able to make the distinction.”

110 Mayer 1996, pp. 9–10, 28–9; Mayer 1995, pp. 15, 34.

111 Erdmann 1955, p. 316. Mayer did not find this argument fitting (1996 p. 31, 1995 p. 35), but as we shall see, it has been taken up again by Riley-Smith and Marcus Bull.

the reason why none of the chronicles stuck to the official formula in their accounts, which were more influenced by the popular belief in the salvation of souls through participation in the crusade.<sup>112</sup>

Mayer's view has been followed by several crusade historians, e.g. by Helmuth Roscher, who in *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (1969) touched briefly on the question of the crusade indulgences and subscribed to Mayer's thesis: Urban II expressed himself very clearly at Clermont and only granted a commutation of the canonical penances, but the preachers did not stick to these limitations and promised remission of all temporal punishment. The transcendental effect was firmly established in the indulgence formulas of Innocent III, even if these did not offer a precise interpretation of the indulgence.<sup>113</sup>

Mayer's view was also maintained in 1990 by I.S. Robinson, who saw a significant distinction between commutations of penance and remission of sins.<sup>114</sup> The indulgence of Urban II was only a commutation of penances, and so were presumably the indulgences by subsequent popes until Eugenius III, even if many of them used the term *remissio peccatorum*. Eugenius III, on the other hand, definitely granted a full remission of sins, and Robinson quotes Gottlob's statement that this was the first time "the transcendental efficacy" was emphasized. Alexander III, however, reverted to the idea of commutation of penances in 1169, and the bulls of the latter part of the twelfth century were quite cautious in their formulations.<sup>115</sup>

A similar theory of non-transcendence has been maintained in 2004 by Bernard Hamilton, though without reference to the use of *remissio peccatorum*. According to Hamilton, Pope Urban's indulgence "seems to have been intended merely as a substitute for earthly penance enjoined by a priest [...], not a guarantee that no further purgation would be required by God after the penitent's death", and it was only during the reign of Eugenius III that the crusading indulgence became defined as an exemption from all penance in this world and in the next.<sup>116</sup>

Jonathan Riley-Smith and Ernst-Dieter Hehl have also been influenced by Mayer's thesis, although they have reconsidered their positions in later years (see further below).

<sup>112</sup> Erdmann 1955 (1935), p. 316.

<sup>113</sup> Roscher 1969, pp. 72–3.

<sup>114</sup> I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198. Continuity and Innovation* (1990), pp. 341, 345–7.

<sup>115</sup> Robinson 1990, pp. 343–9.

<sup>116</sup> Bernard Hamilton, "Religion and the Laity" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* IV:1 (2004), pp. 499–533, here p. 512.

A different interpretation was proposed in 1969 by James Brundage. He also discussed the problem of the transcendental effect, although he avoided this term and addressed it as a question of whether the early indulgences also included God's part of the temporal punishments or were only remissions of penances. He pointed to the differences between commutations and indulgences; the former remitting only penances and the latter including all temporal punishments. Urban's indulgence, as well as many of those of the twelfth century, appears to be commutations if they are to be understood in a literal, technical sense. Even the crusade indulgences granted in 1215 and 1245 were not referring explicitly to a remission of temporal punishments, although they "came closer than earlier statements to expressing the privilege in terms of a sweeping forgiveness of sin."<sup>117</sup>

Brundage did not find that the use of the term *remissio peccatorum* in letters of Urban II, Paschal II and later crusade bulls brought any more clarity, and he did not take it to mean the remission of temporal punishments, or an indulgence "in a proper technical sense."<sup>118</sup> According to Brundage, it is hardly possible now to determine the intention behind these indulgences, and to find out if they are to be understood literally as commutations, or if they were intended to include the transcendental parts of the temporal punishments like the modern indulgences. He pointed out the possibility that the term "penance" in the decrees might actually have been intended to mean what we would define as the temporal punishments.<sup>119</sup> However, he found it "unlikely in the extreme that the popes themselves had an absolutely clear notion of the sort of remission they were granting"<sup>120</sup> because the theoretical structure had not yet been formulated by the theologians. The popes must have had a vague idea of the distinction between guilt and punishment, but neither popes, theologians nor canonists had a clear idea of the distinction between penance and punishments in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, according to Brundage. This means that we might only make a postulation about the intentions of the early crusade indulgences – and Brundage's best guess is that the popes intended the crusaders "to gain as complete a remission as possible of the consequences of sin."<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Brundage 1969, p. 148.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 147.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 148: "were they simply using the term 'penance' loosely to mean the temporal punishment of sins?"

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 148. Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy 1244–1291* (1975), seems to have reached a similar understanding. She touched only briefly on the twelfth-century indulgences, but claimed (p. 36) that indulgences before the thirteenth century were only



Brundage, accordingly, construed the problem of the twelfth-century crusade indulgences somehow differently than Mayer. He attached no special importance to the formula *remissio peccatorum* and, unlike Mayer, he found that the distinction between penances and temporal punishments was not really grasped yet. Brundage also addressed the problem of a possible difference of opinion among people and curia, but seems to have had higher regard than Mayer for the popular interpretation as expressed in the chronicles. He found it an important clue to the meaning of the early grants, and noted the fact that all chronicles of the First Crusade were in complete agreement that the indulgence was “a complete and total wiping out of past misdeeds” and that the same themes are found in later chronicles and sermons.<sup>122</sup> This means that “there was little popular confusion about what the crusade indulgence involved.” The canonists and theologians on the other hand were “understandably” more cautious and pointed out that the indulgences were only effective under some specific conditions.<sup>123</sup>

Jonathan Riley-Smith gave much attention to the use of *remissio peccatorum* in the first edition of *What were the Crusades* from 1977, in which he seems more influenced by H.E. Mayer’s view than in *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* from 1986 or in the three revised editions of *What were the Crusades* from 1992, 2002 and 2009. In the 1977 edition, Riley-Smith described the development of the crusade indulgence as a shift of balance between two ideas: that of waiver of penances and that of remission of sins. The second idea and the expression *remissio peccatorum* came closest to the developed indulgence, he said, “since it referred to the extinction of the sins involved, and therefore presumably of their consequences, without distinction between penance and divine punishment.”<sup>124</sup> Consequently, *remissio peccatorum* meant remission of both penances and God’s temporal punishments, and corresponds to what Gottlob and Mayer would call a transcendental indulgence, although Riley-Smith avoided using this term. As both ideas, the remission of canonical

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plenary in the sense that they remitted all enjoined penances, whereas the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 granted a full remission of sin. It is difficult to gather how important she finds this distinction as she continues, “The difference was however purely one of emphasis in accord with the developments in scholastic theology.” At any rate, this work is also a proponent of a dichotomy of remissions of enjoined penances and remissions of sins.

<sup>122</sup> Brundage 1969, p. 149.

<sup>123</sup> Brundage 1969, p. 151. Mayer has found that Brundage’s view was in fact “yet more radical” than his own and that it “exonerates the twelfth century Church” (in note 13 p. 292 of the English translation of 1972).

<sup>124</sup> Riley-Smith 1977, p. 59.

penances and the remission of sins, are expressed in Urban II's letters, Riley-Smith concluded that "Urban himself had not fixed on a definite terminology for the Indulgence and was probably unclear in his own mind about it."<sup>125</sup> He found that this uncertainty persisted up to the time of Eugenius III, because some crusade bulls talked of the remission of penances, and some of the remission of sins, "although there can be discerned a tendency towards the idea of the remission of sins rather than penance."<sup>126</sup> Several changes of heart took place during the pontificate of Alexander III, until the curia made up its mind finally with the bull *Cor nostrum* from 1181, and from this bull on, all papal letters referred to the remission of sins rather than of penances (except for one by Clement III).

In the revised editions of this book from 1992 to 2009, Riley-Smith has refined and changed his concepts and describes the same development as a shifting balance between an old and a new opinion of the relationship between penance and remission of sins.<sup>127</sup> According to the old view, penance could, if it was severe enough, make satisfaction to God for sin. The newer view (which was apparently introduced in the late eleventh century, although Riley-Smith does not state a date), was that it was not certain if any penance could ever be satisfactory, and that the sinner had to rely on God's mercy, which would release the sinner from punishment as a reward for the performance of a meritorious work. The early crusade indulgences were based on the old idea of penance, and Urban II, by speaking of both a substitution of all penance and remission of all sins, gave "an authoritative declaration that a crusader would make adequate satisfaction by taking part in such a severely penitential act."<sup>128</sup> The crusader thus made due for his own satisfaction by taking part in the crusade; in other words, the Clermont indulgence was a commutation of the penance, and what the pope promised was that this commutation would be adequate and secure the crusader the same remission of sins as the penance originally enjoined upon him. The second, newer view on penances meant that the indulgence implied a gift of grace from God, a merciful reward granted by the pope on God's behalf. This view was expressed already in the crusading bull of Eugenius III, as well as in the writings of St. Bernard. However, the papacy was conservative in its theology, and the old view predominated almost until the end of the twelfth century (the bull of Gregory VIII for the Third Cru-

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 59. In 1986, p. 27 he holds the opposite view: "it is unlikely that the pope was unclear about what he was granting."

<sup>126</sup> Riley-Smith 1977, p. 60.

<sup>127</sup> The same argument is found already in Riley-Smith 1986, pp. 27–30.

<sup>128</sup> Riley-Smith 1992, p. 60, cf. Riley-Smith 2002, p. 62; Riley-Smith 2009, p. 62.

sade in 1187 is mentioned) when the newer view was definitively adopted by the papacy, as can be seen in the bulls of Innocent III.<sup>129</sup>

Thus Riley-Smith has distanced himself further from the discussion on the transcendental effects. The question is no longer whether the early crusade indulgences were meant to remit God's temporal punishments or not, but whether they were basically regarded as commutations in which the crusaders earned satisfaction for themselves, or as a promise of a merciful reward from God. In his later works, Riley-Smith has formulated this as a question of whether the indulgences contained a "spiritual privilege" or not. He has argued that

His [Urban's] crusade "indulgence" was not really an indulgence at all. It was an authoritative pastoral statement that the penance the crusaders were taking on themselves was going to be so severe that it would be fully "satisfactory", in the sense that God would be repaid not only the debt of punishment owed on account of their recent sins, for which penances had not yet been performed, but also any residue of debt left over from earlier penances which had not been satisfactory enough. Urban was not granting a spiritual privilege, which was what the developed indulgence would be in that it presupposed that God would treat a meritorious act as if it was "satisfactory" even though it was not. He was proclaiming a war in which the fighters would be imposing condign punishment on themselves by their own efforts.<sup>130</sup>

One element in Urban's grant did, however, constitute a spiritual privilege "at least in embryo", according to Riley-Smith. This was the promise, reported in two eyewitness accounts, which Urban made to those who died after taking the cross but before reaching Jerusalem, that they would have the remission of sins immediately, disregarding that they had not performed the whole of the penitential act.<sup>131</sup>

With this view, Riley-Smith also seems to have lost interest in the use of the formula *remissio peccatorum*. In the context of contemporary theology it did not matter whether Urban said relief of penances or remission of sins, he ar-

129 Riley-Smith 1992, pp. 60–2, Riley-Smith 2002, pp. 62–4; Riley-Smith 2009, pp. 63–4.

130 Riley-Smith, *The Crusades. A History* (2005), p. 13; cf. Riley-Smith, "The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of Early Crusaders, 1095–1102" in *Le concile de Clermont et l'appel à la croisade* (1997), p. 162 (= 1997b), and Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095–1131* (1997), pp. 68–9 (= 1997a). Riley-Smith uses the term 'spiritual privilege' in a different sense than the rest of the present work; cf. below chapter 4.1.

131 Riley-Smith 1997a, p. 71; Riley-Smith 1997b, pp. 162–3.

gues, because “it came to the same thing.”<sup>132</sup> In the perspective of the crusade as super-satisfaction, the question of whether Urban’s ‘indulgence’ was transcendental or not is dissolved, and Riley-Smith neither denies it nor affirms it. However, by asking whether an indulgence contained a spiritual privilege or not, he has not abandoned the question of the ‘real’ indulgences, but only re-phrased it.

An argument along the same lines is found in Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993). He too points to the significance of a shift in the penitential discipline, and states that the apparent contradiction between Urban II’s statements of remission of penances and sins, which have troubled modern historians, is solved when we give up the attempt to conform his grant with later penitential practise. Urban II’s grant at Clermont belonged to the old view on penances, according to which penances could be satisfactory. Urban was not granting a real indulgence in the modern sense (Bull consistently talks of an “indulgence” in quotation marks), but he thought of the crusade as “super-satisfaction” which would expiate all consequences of sins. In this perspective the *remissio poenitentiae* was equivalent to *remissio peccatorum*; it came to the same thing, as Riley-Smith has claimed.<sup>133</sup> Bull’s research on knightly piety has led him to the conclusion that Urban’s message was not “alien to laymen’s own pious instincts and practises”,<sup>134</sup> and this provides him with a further argument against Mayer’s thesis of a split of ideas among pope and public; in Bull’s opinion, Urban must have known his audience too well and spent too much time preaching the crusade himself to have let the message on the spiritual reward grow out of control.<sup>135</sup>

Already in 1978, Bernard McGinn opposed Mayer’s view that the message of the Crusade slipped out of Urban’s control at an early point, and argued that the use of *remissio peccatorum* about the indulgence for the First Crusade could not entirely be the result of the popular preaching. He pointed to the fact that Urban had already used this phrase a month after Clermont, in his letter to the people of Flanders. McGinn admitted that it is difficult to determine

<sup>132</sup> Riley-Smith 1997b, p. 162; Riley-Smith 2005, p. 13.

<sup>133</sup> Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (1993), pp. 166–71.

<sup>134</sup> Bull p. 208.

<sup>135</sup> Bull p. 171.

what Urban meant by this formula, but emphasized that it was introduced by the pope himself.<sup>136</sup>

Ernst-Dieter Hehl, who in *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert* from 1980 agreed with Mayer and Gottlob that Eugenius III's crusade indulgence had a different character than Urban II's because it granted *remissio peccatorum* and *absolutio* instead of just a remission or commutation of penances, and that with Eugenius the indulgence gained a transcendental effect, seems to have reconsidered his position in later years.<sup>137</sup> In his essay on *Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?* from 1994 he says that although Urban's indulgence was a commutation of penances, it was not inconsistent with the idea of *remissio peccatorum*, and he also points to the fact that Urban used this expression himself.<sup>138</sup> In Hehl's opinion, the commutation of canonical penances to participation in the Crusade meant a complete spiritualization of this particular act of warfare. Urban had stated very precisely the terms for receiving the indulgence: that the crusader took the cross *pro sola devotione*, for devotion alone. This meant that going on crusade was regarded as an act of conversion to God – in the same way as penance was supposed to demonstrate that the sinner was turning back to God. To take the cross was to take on an act of penance and to demonstrate a will to put one's own life at stake for a cause proclaimed by God, and nobody doubted that this act of penance was severe enough to be adequate for the remission of the crusader's guilt for sins. For this reason, both pope and people soon began to use the unspecified notion *remissio peccatorum* about the rewards for the crusaders.<sup>139</sup>

In direct opposition to Mayer, Hehl states that this was not a "Theologie ins Ungefähre" that promised the crusaders something which had no foundation in contemporary theology. Hehl points to the writings of Ivo of Chartres and Bonizo of Sutri as proof that theologians of the late eleventh century did see a direct connection between penance and remission of sins. In their view, the remission of sins by God occurred immediately after confession and absolution by the priest. The point of doing penances was then to make the inner

136 Bernard McGinn, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders" in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. B.K. Lackner & K.R. Philp (1978), pp. 33–71, here pp. 45–6.

137 Ernst-Dieter Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (1980), p. 127. The various opinions on the changing character of the crusade indulgence is discussed in note 548 pp. 127–8.

138 Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?" in *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994), pp. 297–336. The same argument is found in Ernst-Dieter Hehl, "War, Peace and the Christian Order" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History* vol. VI c. 1024–1198 part I (2004), pp. 185–228, esp. pp. 207–10.

139 Hehl 1994, pp. 312–4.

conversion of the sinner manifest to the Church and to prove that the sinner actually did have that true contrition which had been the condition and prerequisite for the remission. Within this theology on penances, according to Hehl, the decision to take the cross was the “utmost of penances” and could therefore only be taken by someone who was already living in the grace of God, because God had already granted him *remissio peccatorum*. The very desire to go on crusade was thus a sign of God’s grace and forgiveness.<sup>140</sup>

In this way, Hehl addresses a problem that has been more or less unspoken but never the less present in the discussion on the crusade indulgences: the freedom of God to save whom he chooses and the (im-)possibility of self-salvation. A theological problem with the indulgences is that they might appear to conflict with the freedom of God, because they oblige him to remit what the prelates of the Church have declared. Moreover, it might appear that people could force God to save them by joining the crusade. In fact, this problem is impending in Riley-Smith’s ‘old view’ on penance, which he claims was the background for the Clermont decree. If Urban’s idea was that the crusaders were making adequate satisfaction for their sins and “imposing condign punishment on themselves by their own efforts”, the idea is very close to self-salvation.<sup>141</sup> It should be noted that Hehl’s view on the idea of penances in the late eleventh century does not quite correspond to either the old or the newer views in Riley-Smith’s post-1986 account. The theology of penances which Hehl found in the writings of Ivo and Bonizo in fact presents a solution to the problem of self-salvation. According to this theology, the crusade was not an opportunity for self-salvation, because the crusaders had been chosen by God first; nobody would go on crusade for devotion alone if he was not already inspired by God’s grace.

#### 1.2.4 *Conclusions*

A recurrent question amongst both the historians of theology and the historians of the crusades is how to define a proper indulgence, and whether a given privilege, for instance the one for the First Crusade, is a *real* indulgence. This discussion originated in doctrinal disputes over the development and nature of indulgences but has lived on also among the historians of the crusades. The latter have asked whether a given privilege is a proper example of the institution of indulgences. That question is not so relevant for the present study of

<sup>140</sup> Hehl 1994, p. 315.

<sup>141</sup> See Ane L. Bysted, “The True Year of Jubilee: Bernard of Clairvaux on Crusade and Indulgences” in *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, eds. Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen (forthcoming 2015).

the general idea of spiritual merit for crusades. Also an 'improper' indulgence expresses an idea of spiritual merit. It might be a different idea from those in the real indulgences, but it still belongs to the subject of our inquiry.

Instead of asking only about the real indulgences, we will look also at those institutions that resemble the indulgences so much, and from which they arose, according to the research of Paulus and Poschmann: the commutations, the redemptions, and the absolutions. The ideas behind the indulgences will become clearer when they are regarded as only one means among others of relieving the burdens of penances. In particular, the crusade indulgences will be seen in the context of the tradition of granting absolutions and other promises of spiritual rewards to warriors for the papacy.

A second question in this inquiry on the promises of spiritual rewards for crusaders concerns their meaning and their intended effects. In this respect, the discussion on the transcendental effects also becomes important. As we have seen, the question of the transcendental effects has been considered important by several crusade historians, even if they have expressed it in different ways. The question is important here, because if the thesis is correct that Pope Urban II and his immediate successors deliberately chose not to grant the crusaders a spiritual reward with transcendental effects, it would mean that the popes were showing some very serious reservations as to the meritorious character of crusading – a fact which crusade historians do not appear to have reflected on.

In recent years some crusade historians, first of all Riley-Smith and Hehl, have abandoned the thesis of non-transcendence and taken a new approach to the subject. The thesis of Gottlob and Mayer was however still maintained by I.S. Robinson in 1990 and by Hamilton in 2004, and the later editions of Mayer's book do not suggest that he has changed his opinion on indulgences. In the second edition of the English version from 1988, which is still in print, he has even added to his argument on the development of transcendence.

The new approach focuses on the ideas of the efficacy of penance and this suggests a closer study of the penitential practise as well as the theology on penances in the eleventh century. The crusade indulgence can only be understood against the background of the development of the institution of indulgences in general – and this emerged out of the penitential system. Many of the problems with determining the meaning behind the early indulgences stem from the fact that the indulgences emerged as a practise in the early eleventh century, but were only described in theological works 150 years later. This makes it necessary to look instead at the penitential practice in the eleventh century, and this will be considered in chapters 3.1 to 3.1.4. In contrast, the

early scholastic theologians of the twelfth century actually addressed many of the problems of indulgences and transcendence. Previous studies of crusade indulgences have not looked very closely at the tracts and opinions of these theologians, but this is the subject of chapters 3.2 to 3.2.8.

First, we will turn to the origins of the crusade indulgence, however, to the message of Urban II and to its precursors in the promises of spiritual merit granted for warriors by his predecessors.



# Origins

## 2.1 The Reward Granted at Clermont 1095

In his preaching of the crusade at Clermont, Pope Urban II (1088–99) undoubtedly spoke of the spiritual reward he believed would be in store for the crusaders. Most of the reports or reproductions of this sermon in the chronicles of the First Crusade allude to such a reward, though in different ways.<sup>1</sup> Of these reports, four stand out as the most important and most theologically refined: the accounts of Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Dol, who were both present at the council, and those of Fulcher of Chartres and Guibert of Nogent, who may have attended it.<sup>2</sup>

All of these mention a promise of eternal rewards. Three of them make the pope speak of the remission of sins for the crusaders. Fulcher relates that the pope promised the remission of sins to all who died on the expedition,<sup>3</sup> whereas in Robert's account it applied to all who took up the journey.<sup>4</sup> According to

- 1 The contents of Pope Urban's sermon and the various versions in the chronicles have been discussed at great length by modern scholars; cf. for instance D.C. Munro, "The Speech of Urban II. at Clermont, 1095" in *American History Review* 11 (1906), pp. 231–42; Paul Rousset, *Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade* (1945), pp. 58–62; Frederic Duncalf, "The councils of Piacenza and Clermont" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton 1 (1958), pp. 220–52; Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land 1095–1270* (1991), pp. 1–36.
- 2 Robert and Baldric both hint at their own presence at the council; Roberti Monarchi, *Historia Iherosolimitana* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Histories occidentales* (hereafter RHC Oc.) III p. 721; Baldrici episcopi Dolensis, *Historia Jerusalem* in RHC Oc. IV pp. 15–6. Fulcher's attendance is reckoned very probable by several scholars even if there is no definitive evidence of it; cf. Munro p. 232, Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II (1088–1099)* II (1988), p. 394. Guibert of Nogent's presence is more disputed; Duncalf claims that he was at the council (1958, p. 239), Becker argues that he was not (II, p. 394).
- 3 "Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut tranfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit." Fulcherii Carnotensis, *Historia Iherosolymitana* in RHC Oc. III p. 324; same in Fulcheri Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (1913), p. 135.
- 4 "Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, securi de immarcesibili gloria regni coelorum." Roberti Monarchi, *Historia Iherosolimitana* in RHC Oc. III p. 729.

Baldric, Urban did not grant the remission of sins to the crusaders directly, but told the bishops to do so when they had heard their confession.<sup>5</sup>

Guibert of Nogent does not make the pope mention the remission of sins, but relates that the crusaders would enjoy eternal life because the fight would contain the glorious reward of martyrdom.<sup>6</sup> Baldric is also alluding to the reward of martyrdom when he makes the pope express the hope that the crusaders would return home victorious or else, purpled with their own blood, receive an eternal reward. In the same paragraph he writes that the journey was short but the reward of it would be “the never fading crown” (1 Peter 5:4), which may be the crown of martyrdom.<sup>7</sup>

In the accounts of both Robert and Guibert, the pope speaks of the crusade as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a place that has been made holy by the life and death of Christ. In Guibert, this theme is linked to the theme of martyrdom, and those who make “the pilgrimage to the cross, the blood, the Sepulchre” will have the opportunity to gain eternal glory as martyrs.<sup>8</sup> In Robert, the theme of pilgrimage is linked to the theme of following Christ in Matthew 10:37–38 and 19:29, and the reward he speaks of is described as being due to the sacrifice that the crusader is making to God when he is taking up his cross.<sup>9</sup> Also the account of Baldric refers to the theme of following Christ, and to the rewards of dying in the service of Christ, although he does not make the pope describe the expedition as a pilgrimage.<sup>10</sup>

All the chronicle evidence for Pope Urban’s sermon at Clermont was written years after the event and also after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. This successful outcome of the crusade seemed to confirm the belief that the enterprise was in fact the will of God and that God was acting through the crusaders.<sup>11</sup>

5 “Confessis peccatorum suorum ignominiam, securi de Christi celerem paciscimini veniam.” Baldrici episcopi Dolensis, *Historia Jerusalem* in RHC Oc. IV p. 15.

6 “Nunc vobis bella proponimus quae in se habent gloriosum martyrii munus, quibus restat praesentis et aeternae laudis titulus.” Guiberti Abbatis, *Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos* in RHC Oc. IV p. 138.

7 “... et vel victoriosi ad propria remeabitis, vel sanguine vestro purpurati, perenne bravium adipiscemini.” “Via brevis est, labor permodicus est qui tamen immarcescibilem vobis rependet coronam.” RHC Oc. IV p. 15.

8 Guibert, loc.cit.; cf. the translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 46.

9 RHC Oc. III pp. 728, 729–30.

10 “Pulchrum sit vobis mori in illa civitate pro Christo in qua Christus pro vobis mortuus est. Ceterum si vos citra mori contingerit, id ipsum autumate mori in via, si tamen in sua Christus vos invenerit militia.” RHC Oc. IV p. 15.

11 Robert p. 729; Guibert p. 138. See also Riley-Smith 2005, pp. 47–9.

This belief, as well as the experiences of the crusaders of suffering and miraculous events during the expedition, may have influenced the chroniclers in their description of the spiritual rewards granted by Pope Urban II. Generally, we must assume that the chronicles tell us as much of the ideas after 1099 as of Urban's own ideas, and that the description of the spiritual rewards reflects the ideas of the author at the time of composition. Later chroniclers phrased the promise of Urban II in accordance with the norms of the crusade indulgences of their own time; thus William of Tyre related that Urban II had promised the "relaxation of penances" for all who went on the crusade and "indulgence for all sins" for those who died, using the vocabulary of Alexander III and the Third Lateran Council 1179 on the privileges for the crusade against the Albigensians.<sup>12</sup> William of Tyre's version of Urban's promise resembles canon 27 of the Third Lateran Council almost verbatim, and it also contains a mature form of the privilege of protection of the property of crusaders, phrased in the same way as at the Third Lateran Council.<sup>13</sup> To William, who was writing in the 1180s, the decree of the Third Lateran must have represented an authoritative form of a genuine indulgence, which is why he used this form, but it cannot be used as a testimony to the formula actually employed by Urban.<sup>14</sup> The same can to a

12 "Nos autem de misericordia Domini et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et onus sibi hujus peregrinationis assumpserint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis poenitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera poenitentia decesserint et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum aeternae mercedis se non dubitent habituros." William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* in RHC Oc. vol 1 p. 42.

13 For the text of the decree of the Third Lateran, see Alberigo p. 201, and also *infra* Appendix 1. On the privilege of protection of crusader property see chapter 4.1. below. In a recent article, Paul Chevedden has claimed that my statement on the similarity between William of Tyre and the Third Lateran decree "is untrue"; Chevedden, "Canon 2 of the Council of Clermont (1095) and the Crusade Indulgence" in *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum* 37:2 (2005), p. 309 note 128. I do, however, stand by my assertion; the resemblance is very high and it seems probable that William borrowed his formulas from this decree. He has switched the order, and talks of the rewards of the surviving crusaders before those of the dead crusaders, and he is of course describing a full remission of penance while the Third Lateran only granted two years "de poenitentia iniuncta relaxamus." The last sentence "Qui autem ... habituros" is identical to the grant for the dead crusaders in the Third Lateran decree (see Alberigo p. 201; one of the manuscripts has *habituros* instead of *percepturos*, which is the usual reading of the decree).

14 As did H.C. Lea when he cited the text of William of Tyre in Jean Hardouin, *Acta conciliorum et epistolae decretales ac constitutiones summorum pontificum* VI: ii (1714–15), p. 1724, as the words of Pope Urban himself; cf. Lea III, p. 10. H.E. Mayer, too, has based a long

large extent be said about the versions of the earlier chronicles, even though they are closer to the event.

In the assessment of the evidence of the chronicles it must also be borne in mind that the address of Urban II had the form of a sermon, as pointed out by Penny Cole, and that this posed special challenges for the medieval historians, who not only had to report what the pope had said but also to express his words “at a rhetorical level commensurate with the occasion, and, indeed, with the remarkable consequences which it had.”<sup>15</sup> This also means that we should not regard the sermons in the chronicles as attempts at making exact reports of what the pope had said at Clermont, even if some of the writers were eye-witnesses. The different versions of the sermon in the chronicles are probably best understood as the attempts of the individual writers to convey the message they thought Pope Urban would have given at such an occasion, and to express it in a way that was also edifying to the readers of their chronicles. Indeed, Guibert of Nogent stated himself that he was not relating the exact words of the pope, but rather his intentions.<sup>16</sup> While a comparison of the different versions of the sermon – as in the classic study conducted by D.C. Munro – might give us a clue to the themes Urban touched upon at Clermont, such a study can only provide a probable estimate of the content matter of the sermon, and it will never be able to determine what exact words were used by Urban. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assert that the pope did indeed promise some kind of spiritual reward since all sources agree that he did. Likewise, it seems certain that he alluded to the theme of taking the cross in Matthew 10:37 and 16:24, since this theme is used by both Robert of Rheims and Baldric of Dol as well as by the earlier chronicle *Gesta Francorum*, and since this quotation gave meaning to the distribution of crosses to the audience at Clermont, as is reported by these chronicles.<sup>17</sup> The chronicles had a great influence on the later crusading propaganda and on how later generations perceived the institutions of the crusade, as we shall see in later chapters. However, they cannot tell us what words were actually used by Urban II himself about the spiritual reward he proposed to the crusaders, and if he for instance talked about it as a commutation of penance, or if he used the words *remissio peccatorum*.

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argument on the version of William of Tyre without noticing that this corresponds to the text of the Third Lateran, cf. Mayer 1996, note 15, p. 294.

<sup>15</sup> Cole 1991, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> “His ergo, etsi non verbis, tamen intentionibus usus est.” RHC Oc. IV p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> Robert in RHC Oc. III pp. 728, 730; Baldric in RHC Oc. VI p. 16; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* in RHC Oc. III p. 121.

Another group of evidence for the Clermont reward is the decrees that were promulgated by the council shortly before Pope Urban gave his address. As mentioned in the introduction, the version associated with Lambert of Arras stated that those who went to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God “could substitute this journey for all penance.”<sup>18</sup> This is the most often cited version of the decrees, because it was printed at the beginning of J.D. Mansi’s widely distributed conciliar collection from 1775. However, as pointed out by Robert Somerville, there are good reasons for calling this collection into question, and also for reassessing the value of the canons of the Lambert tradition.<sup>19</sup> The transmission of the canons of Clermont is chaotic, and there are several traditions for their text. Furthermore, many of the so-called canons of Clermont, including the list by Lambert, are actually only synopses or chapter headings for the actual decrees.<sup>20</sup> According to the magisterial study by Somerville, we do not have the text of the official statement of the canons of Clermont. The texts we do have derive from the accounts of individual participants. The quotation above was taken from the *Liber Lamberti*, a record book from the episcopate of Lambert of Arras, who was a participant in the council of Clermont. Lambert and those travelling with him would have taken notes on the proceedings and compared them, but there is no sign that they attempted to copy the full text of the official decrees. Moreover, the list of canons in the *Liber Lamberti* does not include all the canons that were decided at Clermont, but reflects the cases that were of particular interest for Lambert and his see.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, we do have two other versions of a crusading canon of Clermont. These versions, however, do not mention any spiritual reward, but only relate that the crusaders and their property were to be protected by the peace of God.<sup>22</sup> We may assume that the actual decrees of the council promised both

18 “Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunia adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia ei reputetur.” J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (1759–98; repr. 1902), vol. xx col. 816. Also printed in R. Somerville, *The Councils of Urban II. 1. Decreta Claromontensia* (1972), p. 74.

19 According to Somerville, the collection by Mansi was inferior to earlier collections. “But it is Mansi that most historians consult, too often uncritically. Lambert’s list opens that account. It is thus cited most frequently ...” Somerville pp. 17–8.

20 Somerville pp. 21–3.

21 Somerville pp. 36–41, 46, 59.

22 One is from the Codex Laurentianus XVI.15: “Ammoneri populum de itinere Hierosolimitano et quicumque ibit per nomen penitentiae tam ipse quam res eius semper sint in treuga Domini.” in Somerville p. 108. This codex is from the early twelfth century, probably from the time of Paschal II, but its provenance is unknown. The other version is from the

the spiritual reward and the protection of property, and thus laid the foundation for both spiritual and temporal privileges for the crusaders,<sup>23</sup> but this can only be an assumption, and the contents as well as the exact words of the crusading canon can only be guessed at.

Furthermore, as the text from the *Liber Lamberti* is only a summary, we cannot rely solely upon this evidence for our interpretation of the Clermont indulgence, as H.E. Mayer did, for example. Lambert, or whoever wrote the synopsis, may well have replaced one or more words of the canon – and he may even have skipped the words *remissio peccatorum*, the absence of which played such an important part in Mayer's argument. The other two versions of the crusader privileges did not find it important to mention the spiritual reward at all, so why should we trust that Lambert's version is accurate? In the end, we have no way of knowing whether the council at Clermont granted the *remissio peccatorum* to the crusaders or not.

We may also note that there is no correspondence between the *Liber Lamberti* text and the different versions of Urban's sermon in the chronicles with regard to the spiritual reward for the crusaders. None of the chronicles make the pope speak of the crusade as a commutation of penance in the terms used by the *Liber Lamberti*. This is not an argument either for the assumption that Urban and the council did in fact grant *remissio peccatorum*, or to support the theory that they granted a commutation, but it means that these two groups of sources, which in themselves have been shown to be highly problematic, do not even support each other.

A better source for the ideas of Urban II and the spiritual reward he intended for the crusaders is his own letters on this matter, written before and after Clermont, and we will look into these further below. However, in order to interpret these letters, it will be very useful to look at similar promises from earlier popes and the tradition of giving remissions of sins to warriors who fought for the papacy, and these will be considered first.

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so-called Cencius-Baluze fragments: "Tunc etiam expeditio facta est, et constituta est equitum et peditum ad Ierusalem et alias Asie ecclesias a Sarracenorum potestate eruendas. Et in eorum bonis usque ad redditum pax continua emulgata." in Somerville p. 124, on the text see *ibid.*, pp. 119–21.

23 See below chapter 4.1.

## 2.2 Spiritual Rewards for Warriors Before the First Crusade

Occasional blessings of wars and warriors by popes and other prelates can be traced back into the early Middle Ages. This chapter is, however, only concerned with evidence of actual grants of spiritual rewards or promises of awards in Heaven made by popes to warriors and found in papal letters. The tradition of papally proclaimed wars must have formed Pope Urban's thinking about the campaign he himself was launching in 1095, and the letters of his predecessors presented models and a "*Therminologie-Reservoir*" for him when he wrote about the spiritual reward.<sup>24</sup> By studying this earlier tradition and terminology, we may thus get a clearer idea of the reward Urban II proposed to the crusaders.

Previous scholarship has drawn particular attention to three sets of ideas and practises that could have formed Urban's idea of the reward, and has tried to trace these back into the tradition of papally proclaimed holy wars. The one is the complex of ideas with regard to penance, remissions, and indulgences. The second is the idea of martyrdom. Some scholars have claimed that the idea of martyrdom played a significant role for Urban II and his concept of crusade and reward, and also for the earlier promises of spiritual reward for warriors. H.E.J. Cowdrey and Jean Flori in particular have asserted this thesis and have discussed a number of examples reaching back into the ninth century.<sup>25</sup> Others have found that the idea of martyrdom in relation to war only occurred very rarely in the period before the First Crusade, and Riley-Smith especially has argued that Urban II did not himself preach the crusade as something that would merit martyrdom, and that this idea only became part of the crusading idea during the course of the expedition, when the crusaders experienced death and suffering.<sup>26</sup> The question becomes blurred by the fact that these scholars have different criteria for speaking about martyrdom in the sources; thus, for instance, Flori accepts some very general promises of heavenly rewards as promises of martyrdom as well. Indeed, the eleventh-century definition of martyrdom appears a bit uncertain, since the word "*martirium*"

<sup>24</sup> As phrased by Becker II p. 364.

<sup>25</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Martyrdom and the First Crusade" in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Edbury (1985), pp. 46–56, and "Pope Gregory and Martyrdom" in *Dei gesta per Francos. Crusade studies in honour of Jean Richard*, eds. Balard, Kedar & Riley-Smith (2001), pp. 3–11; Jean Flori, "Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la 2e moitié du xie siècle" in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 85: 3–4 (1990), pp. 617–49.

<sup>26</sup> Riley-Smith: *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (1986). See also Colin Morris: "Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade" in *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), pp. 93–104.

did not have its specific meaning yet and was also used more commonly for suffering.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, in opposition to the classical concept of martyrdom as it evolved in the middle of the third century under the persecutions in the Roman Empire, a concept which required that martyrs died for their faith, the writers of around 1100 also considered as candidates for martyrdom individuals who had not undergone death, but who had endured suffering for Christ and the Church.<sup>28</sup> As a working definition, we may accept the one given by H.E.J. Cowdrey, that in the context of papally proclaimed wars “martyrdom was bearing witness to Christ by accepting death or injury for his sake, as the outcome and proof of a self-dedication to this end.”<sup>29</sup> Furthermore it is not necessary that the source uses the word *martirium*, but on the other hand it is not enough that it only makes a very general and unspecific mention of an eternal reward.

The third set of ideas are those attached to the tradition for making pilgrimages to holy places and especially to Jerusalem. Paul Alphandery, H.E. Mayer, and J. Riley-Smith in particular have pointed to the pilgrimage as an important element in the crusade idea because it nourished reverence for the holy places and formed the belief in the merit of journeying to them.<sup>30</sup> In the following, we shall examine the papal promises to warriors, also bearing in mind the ideas of martyrdom and pilgrimage.

The idea that war for the Church would merit a reward as well as the papal promises of such rewards did not originate with the fight against the Muslims. It occurs already in the eighth century when Popes Gregory III, Stephen II and Paul I established contacts with the Franks in order to persuade them to defend the papal states and interests against the Lombards and the Greeks. In 739, Charles Martel was promised the salvation of his soul and eternal life in return for defending the Church and the pope.<sup>31</sup> This promise was renewed in numerous letters to Carolingian princes in the 750s and 760s.<sup>32</sup> These letters

27 Morris 1993, pp. 100, 103.

28 See Theologische Realenzyklopädie xxii, p. 207. An example of the period is Fulcher of Chartres, i: 16: 4; other examples in Morris 1993.

29 Cowdrey 2001, p. 3.

30 Paul Alphandery, *La chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (1954), vol. 1 pp. 9–42; Mayer: *The Crusades* (1996), pp. 13–5, 26–32; Riley-Smith 1986, pp. 22–4; idem 1997a pp. 23–39.

31 “Tu autem, fili, habes cum ipsi principe apostolorum hic et in futura vita coram omnipotenti Deo nostro, sicut pro eius ecclesia et nostra defensione ...” MGH Epistolae III: *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi* I (Berlin 1892) (hereafter cited as MGH Epp. III), p. 477.

32 MGH Epp. III pp. 478, 488, 490, 493, 497, 498, 501, 502, 503, 516, 520, 522, 524, 528, 531, 536–7, 539, 543. See also Paulus I p. 60.



have received hardly any attention in scholarship on the crusading idea, even though they closely resemble later papal letters on holy wars against non-Christians.<sup>33</sup> They often speak of the reward as an eternal prize, *praemia aeternae retributionis*, or the most lucrative prize, *lucratissimum praemium*, which will be granted by the intercession of St. Peter and the mercy of God, if the princes will obey the commands of the prince of apostles and defend the Church. In two instances, it is mentioned that for this labour St. Peter will grant the remission of sins.<sup>34</sup> The princes are also told that this labour will merit a crown from God and that their seats in Heaven will be honourable and right next to the saints, but it is not said that they will be martyrs.<sup>35</sup>

In the ninth century, spiritual promises were linked to the combat against the Arab advance in Italy, and the defence of Rome and the papal patrimony. Rome itself was pillaged by Muslim forces in 846, and in light of the constant threat Pope Leo IV (847–55) refortified Rome and called upon the Carolingians to go against the Arabs and to defend the papal states. In 853, he wrote a letter to the Frankish warriors, in which he admonished them to fight against the enemies of the holy faith, and promised that whoever died in this war would get a heavenly reward, because:

The Almighty knows that when one of you dies, he has died for the truth of the faith, the salvation of the patrimony, and for the defence of Christianity. Therefore he will receive the aforementioned reward from Him.<sup>36</sup>

The grounds on which Leo IV promised the spiritual reward are thus very clearly stated. The criterion for obtaining it was that the warrior gave his life for the defence of the faith, the papal state, and the Christian people. It seems that the pope equalled this fate with that of the martyrs by referring to dying for the truth of the faith, and that God will recognize this by granting heavenly rewards. Pope Leo does not seem to have been the least in doubt that the heavenly reward would be in store for those who died for this cause, but on the

33 Erdmann mentioned them very briefly, p. 23.

34 “pro certo tenentes, quod per certamen, quod in eius sanctam ecclesiam, vestram spiritalem matrem, feceritis, ab ipso principe apostolorum vestra dimittantur peccata et pro cepti cursu laboris centuplum accipatis de manu Dei et vitam possideatis aeternam” MGH Epp. III, p. 488, see also p. 501.

35 Cf. MGH Epp. III, pp. 520, 528, 537, 545.

36 “quisquis ... in hoc belli certamine fideliter mortuus fuerit, regna illi coelestia minime negabuntur. Novit enim Omnipotens, si quilibet vestrum morietur, quod pro veritate fidei, et salvatione patriae, ac defensione Christianorum mortuus, ideo ab praetitulatum praeminum consequetur.” PL 115: 655–7.

other hand it is also very clearly stated that the reward is granted by God and not by the pope himself on his own authority.

The situation with the Muslim invasions in Italy was still desperate under John VIII (872–882), who travelled to France in 877 in a hope of securing renewed help from the Carolingians. The pope proposed a spiritual reward for this fight, but the Frankish bishops must have been unsure about the nature of this reward, because our source on this promise is a letter from the pope from 878 or 879 to the Frankish bishops in answer to an inquiry. The bishops had asked

whether those who have recently fallen in war for the defence of the holy Church of God and for the existence of the Christian religion and state, or those who in the future will be dead for the same cause, will gain indulgence for their sins (*indulgentiam delictorum*)?

The answer of the pope was that,

whoever in piety of the Catholic faith falls in a war fighting strenuously against heathens or infidels, will gain rest in eternal life. Of these the Lord spoke through his prophet: “In the very hour the sinner is converted, all his transgressions shall not be mentioned unto him,” like the worthy robber who gained Paradise by confessing on the cross.<sup>37</sup>

This last sentence was a reference to the malefactor who was crucified together with Christ, and who was saved because he confessed himself as a sinner and recognized Christ as the Lord (Luke 23:39–43). The prophet quoted is Ezekiel, also speaking about hardened sinners who are saved when they turn away from their wickedness.<sup>38</sup> The letter continues with a reference to the Old

37 “Quia veneranda fraternitas vestra modesta interrogatione sciscitans quaesivit, utrum hi, qui pro defensione sanctae Dei Ecclesiae et pro statu Christianae religionis ac rei publicae in bello nuper ceciderunt aut de reliquo pro eadem re casuri sunt, indulgentiam possint consequi delictorum, audenter Christi Dei nostri pietate respondemus, quoniam illi, qui cum pietate catholicae religionis in belli certamine cadunt, requies eos aeternae vitae suscipiet contra paganos atque infideles strenue dimicantes, eo quod Dominus per prophetam dignatus est dicere: *Peccator quacumque hora conversus fuerit, omnium iniquitatum illius non recordabor amplius*, et [ut] venerabilis ille latro in una confessionis voce de cruce meruit paradisum.” PL 126: 816; MGH Epistolae VII: *Epistolae Karolini aevi* V (hereafter cited as MGH Epp. VII), pp. 126–7.

38 The quotation is not a direct one, but appears to be elaborated over Ezekiel 33:12 and 18:21–2.

Testament King Manasseh, who was a wicked and ungodly king, but who was saved when he submitted himself to God (2 Chronicles 33). By making these references to Scripture, John VIII gave a theological justification for the belief in a spiritual reward for the dead warriors, and his explanation also reveals that the grounds on which he made the promise were that to him the act of giving one's life for the Christian religion was an act of conversion. Some historians have regarded this as a true indulgence, in fact the first crusade indulgence.<sup>39</sup> However, if we define indulgences as the remission of temporal punishments due for sin (cf. above chapter 1.1) it cannot be termed an indulgence. John VIII does not appear to be speaking of the reward in terms of remissions of penance, nor of the participation in the battle as something that might count as a penance, as did later popes.<sup>40</sup> His idea seems rather to be that the warriors who give their life are showing the utmost penitence and a proof of true conversion, and for this reason they will surely be justified and saved.

The quotation from Ezekiel, "in the very hour the sinner is converted," is interesting, because it replaces *die* with *hora*, and thus accentuates the instantaneous relationship between contrition and justification because the justification is said to happen in the very hour the sinner is converted, and not on the same day, as Ezekiel 33:12 has it. This adaptation occurs already in a sermon by St. Augustine which may be the source of many later occurrences.<sup>41</sup> The original *quacumque die* lived on, however, and at the turn of the eighth century it was used by Alcuin, while Walafrid Strabo, who was a contemporary of John VIII, referred to *quacumque hora*.<sup>42</sup> By the beginning of the twelfth

39 Étienne Delaruelle, "Essai sur la formation de l'idée de Croisade" in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 42 (1941), pp. 86–103, here p. 103; Chevedden 2005, pp. 260–5.

40 Gottlob discussed if this was the first crusade indulgence (1906 pp. 25–28) and found that it was an important step in the development, but not a true indulgence, because it was a statement only about those who died. On the other hand, he argued that John VIII was granting a remission of penance, and that he did so on the grounds that he believed that God had already forgiven the dead warriors their guilt for sin, "Der Gedanke Johannis ist also: Da Gott in diesen Fällen auf die Busswerke verzichtet, von ihnen abgesehen hat, so will auch ich dies tun." (Gottlob 1906 p. 26). This might be reading a little too much into it, since the letter does not speak about remission of penances at all, and Gottlob's argument turns on the conceptual distinction between forgiveness of guilt and penance. This is hardly found before the twelfth century, and I do not see evidence in this letter that John VIII should have anticipated this development in theology. Cf. chapters 3.1.3 and 3.2.1 below.

41 PL 38: 140.

42 Alcuin, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, c. 13 *De poenitentia*, PL 101: 623 "per prophetam ait: *In quacumque die conversus fuerit peccator, vita vivet et non morietur*." Walafridus Strabo: PL 114: 884, "Quacumque hora conversus ingemuerit homo ex toto corde ..."

century, the *quacumque hora* text became widely used to emphasize the role of contrition in relation to the forgiveness of sins, and even to say that true inner penitence will restore the sinner to the state of justification immediately, independently of the absolution by his priest.<sup>43</sup> This was probably not what Pope John VIII had in mind, but at least it seems that he wanted to make the point that contrition and conversion were enough to justify sinners, even if it happened in the final moments of their lives. The reference to the malefactor who was crucified together with Christ also invokes the prospect of swift salvation at the moment of death, and the readers of the letter would surely remember the words spoken by Christ to him: "Today shalt thou be with me in Paradise" (Luke 23:43). Thus, the fate of the warriors who die in this war appears to be much like that of martyrs, who are saved instantaneously when they die for their faith. We may note that the reward in question only pertains to those who die in this war, and not to the survivors. John VIII is not describing them directly as martyrs, however, and neither does he give any formal declaration about a martyr status of these warriors.<sup>44</sup>

The letter is concluded by a more formal statement, not about martyrdom, but about the absolution of the warriors, and this bears some resemblance to later formulas of indulgences even if it does not concern the remission of penances:

We in our modesty absolve the aforementioned through the intercession of the holy apostle Peter, who has the power to bind and to loose in Heaven and on Earth, as far as it is just, and we commend them through our prayers to the Lord.<sup>45</sup>

This clear papal statement and explanation about the spiritual reward for combat for the Church given by John VIII does not appear to have been utilised

43 Cf. e.g. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita Christiana*, L. IX c. 2, ed. E. Perels (1930), p. 277; *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, PL 40: 1128; Abelard, *Ethica* c. 19, ed. D.E. Luscombe (1971), p. 88; Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum Libri quatuor*, L. IV D. XVII c. 1, PL 192: 880. Cf. also Anciaux pp. 52–3, 178, 224 and passim, and the discussion below in chapter 3.2.1.

44 Paul Riant, "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades" in *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), p. 23 saw this differently: "c'est la première fois que serait partie de la chaire de s. Pierre la déclaration formelle, 'que les victimes de la guerre sainte sont des martyrs, et leur sang, versé les armes à la main, entraîne la rémission de leurs péchés'." I do not see this in the letter.

45 "Nostra praefatos mediocritate, intercessione beati Petri apostoli, cujus potestas ligandi atque solvendi est in coelo et in terra, quantum fas est, absolvimus precibusque illos Domino commendamus." PL 126: 816; MGH Epp. VII, pp. 126–7.

by his successors in the ninth and tenth centuries. Maybe the relative tranquility from the Arabs in Italy, or the generally deteriorated state of the papacy in this period, are the explanations for this. Not until the eleventh century do such promises and papal admonitions to holy wars appear again in the sources. A late narrative source claims that Benedict VIII (1012–24) commissioned a legate to “preach the cross” to the Pisans against the Saracens at Sardinia in 1017, but this is surely influenced by later crusading vocabulary.<sup>46</sup> The promises by Leo IX (1049–54) for combat against the Normans in Italy are attested in a number of narrative sources, which claim that he promised remissions of penance and of sins, and that after the battle he had a vision which convinced him that those who had died were martyrs.<sup>47</sup> The many references in the narrative sources are interesting because they testify that the belief in a spiritual reward and in a martyr status for those who died in such battles was widely accepted.<sup>48</sup> However, as we do not have the actual words of the pope himself, we will leave the promises of Leo IX out of the discussion.

According to narrative sources, Alexander II (1061–73) granted absolution of sins to the Normans fighting the Muslims in Sicily and Southern Italy.<sup>49</sup> But with Alexander II also began the series of spiritual promises to Christian warriors fighting the Muslims in Spain. In a letter to the *clerus Vulturnensis* from 1063,<sup>50</sup> Alexander wrote that he admonished those who had decided to go to Spain to fulfil their intention, and added that each of them had to confess their sins to their bishop or spiritual father and have penance enjoined according to the measure and art of their sins,

lest the devil will be able to accuse them of impenitence. We, however, cancel the penance for them and give them remission of sins, by the

46 The *Cronaca Pisana dall' anno 962 sino al 1400* by Ranieri Sardo, cf. Gottlob 1906, p. 38.

47 Cf. Flori 1990, pp. 630–1; Gottlob 1906, pp. 40–5.

48 Flori 1990, p. 631.

49 Cf. Gottlob 1906, p. 45.

50 Both the castle of Volturmo and the bishoprics of Volterra and Volturara have been suggested as matches for *Vulturnensis*. The discussion is summed up in Chevedden 2005, pp. 278–9 note 55. It has been argued that this grant was actually not for fighting, but for a pilgrimage, cf. Bull pp. 74–6, and Riley-Smith 1997a p. 49, but this has been proved to be less convincing by Jean Flori, “Réforme, reconquête, croisade. L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II” in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 40 (1997), pp. 317–35, here pp. 319–21. See also Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (2003), pp. 24–6; Chevedden 2005, pp. 278–86.

authority of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and by following them with our prayers.<sup>51</sup>

For the first time since the eighth century, we see a papal promise of spiritual rewards for participants in a holy war that includes those who survived the expedition, and for the very first time it is clear that this reward will have an effect already in this life. It is not only a promise of a reward in Heaven, but it consists of both the remission of sins and the remission of enjoined penances, which will be enjoyed here and now. It is carefully stated that sins had to be properly confessed and put under the ordinary regime of the penitential system before they would be included in the papal remission. The remission, however, was an act of the pope and was procured by his apostolic authority. It is stated in the indicative, and – in contrast to the letter of Leo IV – it is not stated that the pope is only declaring and acting on a decision already made by God.

The spiritual promise made by Alexander II also seems to live up to the criteria of an actual indulgence,<sup>52</sup> and may well have been influenced by the emergence of this institution in the eleventh century.

Gregory VII (1073–85) has left us a relatively large number of absolutions in his letters, and certainly also a much larger number of absolutions for warriors than his predecessors.<sup>53</sup> The spiritual promises to warriors granted by Gregory VII may be divided into three groups: 1) those in letters related to the proposed (but never realized) “proto crusade” from 1074; 2) those related to Gregory’s dealings with the Normans; 3) those related to the conflict with the German emperor and the contest over investitures from 1080 onwards.

In his general call to all Christians to come to the aid of Constantinople against the heathens from March 1074, Gregory, however, did not mention any grant of spiritual promises.<sup>54</sup> In this respect, this call did not resemble the cru-

51 “Eos, qui in Hispaniam proficisci destinarunt, paterna karitate hortamur, ut, que divinitus admoniti cogitaverunt ad effectum perducere, summa cum solitudine procurent; qui iuxta qualitatem peccaminum suorum unusquisque suo episcopo vel spirituali patri confiteatur, eisque, ne diabolus accusare de inpenitentia possit, modus penitentiae imponatur. Nos vero auctoritate sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et penitentiam eis levamus et remissionem peccatorum facimus, oratione prosequentes.” *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, ed. S. Loewenfeld (1885), p. 43.

52 It was considered the first crusading indulgence by N. Paulus, I p. 195. Crusade historians have different opinions of it; e.g. Flori regards it as a commutation, cf. 1997 p. 321. On the discussion see now Chevedden 2005, pp. 278–86 with references.

53 See chapter 4.2.2.1 below and also Table 1 in Appendix 2.

54 Erich Caspar, ed., *Das Register Gregors VII* (1955) (hereafter Reg. Greg.), I: 49, pp. 75–6.

sading bulls of later popes to which it has often been likened. However, in four other letters, dated in February, September, and December, with direct admonitions to undertake this proposed expedition, Gregory leaves no doubt that participation in this campaign would be pleasing to God and would merit a heavenly reward, even if he is still a little vague about it. All four letters are concluded by a formal statement about the spiritual reward, but only in the one to King Henry IV does Gregory say that the recipient will have the “absolution of all sins”.<sup>55</sup> In the letter to Count William of Poitou he says that a full remission before God would be in store for him.<sup>56</sup> In the remaining two he speaks of either a “multiplied reward” granted by St. Peter and St. Paul,<sup>57</sup> or an “eternal reward”. In the latter, Gregory presents the expedition as a test granted by God in which the warrior can show his worthiness:

For through a labour that is for a moment you can gain an eternal reward (cf. 2 Cor. 4:17). The almighty God, who has abbreviated his whole law into the precept of charity, is granting you to love him of all your heart, all your soul, and all your strength, so that you, loving your neighbour like yourselves, will be worthy of giving your lives for them, if it is necessary.<sup>58</sup>

In some of these letters, Gregory is also leaning very strongly on the idea of *servitium sancti Petri*, the service of St. Peter, which the princes and knights owe him as his *fideles*. Gregory envisioned his vassals and his supporters at large turned into a ‘militia of St. Peter’, and thus invented an entirely new concept of a military fellowship of those sworn to implement papal policy.<sup>59</sup> At

55 “Omnipotens Deus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt, meritis et auctoritate beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli a cunctis peccatis te absolvat et per viam mandatorum suorum incedere faciat atque ad vitam eternam perducat.” Reg. Greg. II: 31, p. 168, dated 7 December 1074.

56 “Vobis tamen et de bona voluntate plena apud Deum remuneratio est reposita ...” Reg. Greg. II: 3, pp. 126–8.

57 “Certus enim esto, quoniam te et omnes, qui tecum in hac expeditione fuerint fatigati, duplici immo multiplici remuneratione, ut credimus, Petrus et Paulus principes apostolorum, donabunt.” Reg. Greg. I: 46, p. 71 for Count William of Burgundy, 2 February 1074.

58 “Nam per momentanum laborem aeternam potestis acquirere mercedem. Omnipotens Deus, qui omnem legem suam in precepto abbreviavit caritatis, det vobis se toto corde tota anima tota virtute diligere, ut proximus vestros sicut vos ipsos diligentes mereamini, si oportuerit, pro eis animas vestras ponere.” Reg. Greg. II: 37, p. 173 for all *fideles* of St Peter, 16 December 1074. The theme of the temporal labour and the eternal wages is also found in Reg. Greg. I: 23 for Archbishop Cyriacus of Carthage, who was oppressed by Saracens: “Gravis quidem pugna, sed infinita sunt premia.”

59 Cf. Erdmann 1955, pp. 185–94; Morris 1989, p. 146.

the same time, he also gave a new “feudal gloss on the promise of absolution”.<sup>60</sup> The lay warrior had a duty to St. Peter and to his vicar, the pope, analogous to that of a vassal to his feudal lord, and in return he was rewarded with spiritual *beneficia*, which means benefits, but which was also the technical term for feudal tenure. Thus, Gregory’s concept of spiritual rewards followed the logic of the gift exchange, which secured the social bonds of the feudal, secular society. The knights were admonished to keep themselves on a good standing with St. Peter, who would reward them for what they had done for the papacy. Gregory even says that the knights should seek to make St. Peter their debtor and to bind him to them, so that their prayers to him would avail more.<sup>61</sup>

Gregory’s concept of spiritual reward was not based on the remission of penances, as was the concept of Alexander II. In none of his calls to war for the papacy does Gregory grant a remission of penances. On the other hand, in his letters resulting from the dealings with the Normans, Gregory shows great concern about the penances of warriors. We have two letters in which he grants absolution to Normans going to war for the papacy, both addressed to bishops whom he instructs carefully in order to make sure that the absolutions were contingent upon the performance of penance.<sup>62</sup> In the first of these letters it appears, however, that the idea is that the undertaking of the war is enjoined as the penance.<sup>63</sup> That means that the combat itself is the penance and not that the penance is remitted for the warriors as a reward. This is a significant concept, which we have not met in the previous declarations, but which

60 I.S. Robinson, “Gregory VII and the soldiers of Christ,” in *History* 58: 193 (1973), p. 182.

61 See esp. Reg. Greg. I: 46, p. 71 for Count William of Burgundy, quoted above, and Reg. Greg. IX: 17, p. 597, for Duke Robert Guiscard in 1081: “Quapropter beatum Petrum, cuius tibi adesse patrocinium grandia facta testantur, pre oculis habere semper memineris eiusque beneficiis, cum necesse est, gratam vicem rependens ipsum de cetero velut debitorem efficere tibi procurato, de quo nimirum eo magis presumere poteris, quo amplius obsequiis illum tibi quasi obnoxium astrinxeris.”

62 Reg. Greg. III: 11, pp. 271–2, for Archbishop Arnald of Acerenza about Count Roger I from 1076, and Reg. Greg. VIII: 6, p. 524, for the bishops of Southern Italy about Robert Guiscard from 1080; cf. Robinson (1973), p. 182.

63 As argued by Janus Møller Jensen in *For hengivenhed alene*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Copenhagen (2001), pp. 103–4 and in “Peregrinatio sive expeditio: Why the First Crusade was not a Pilgrimage” in *Al-Masaq* 15 (2003), 15: 2, p. 119–37, here pp. 124, 134 n. 73, against Gottlob 1906, p. 53. Cf. Reg. Greg. III: 11, pp. 271–2: “Quapropter pastorali cura hoc laboris onus tibi imponimus, immo ex parte beati Petri imperamus, ut postposita omni torporis desidia illum adeas eumque huius nostri precepti auctoritate fultus, si nobis parere sicut pollicitus est voluerit et penitentiam, ut oportet christianum, egerit, ab omni peccatorum vinculo tam illum quam etiam suos milites, qui cum eo contra paganos, ita tamen ut agant penitentiam, pugnaturi sunt, peccatis maxime absolvas.”



formed an important element in Urban II's concept and which will be discussed below.

The third group of spiritual promises to warriors in the letters of Gregory VII deals with the Germans, and in these Gregory appears to have relaxed the limitations shown in the earlier letters. He grants the full absolution of sins unconditionally to his supporters, and no longer mentions the performance of penance as a condition for obtaining the reward. In 1080, he granted absolution of all sins to all faithful adherents of Rudolf of Reinfelden (Swabia), and in 1081 he tried to recruit German magnates for the service of St. Peter "for the absolution of their sins".<sup>64</sup> In 1084, when Gregory had lost many supporters, he appealed again to all faithful to come to the rescue of the Church, their mother, and St. Peter, their father, "if you want to obtain the absolution of all sins and blessings and grace in this world and in the world to come."<sup>65</sup>

In this period, Gregory also used the language of martyrdom in his appeals to the Germans. In 1079 he wrote to Rudolf and his followers that,

Since Truth himself says that the kingdom of heaven belongs to all who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake (Matt. 5:10), and the Apostle declares that no one can be crowned except he strive lawfully (2 Tim. 2:5), do not be disheartened, my sons, in the storm of war which has now for so long assailed you ...<sup>66</sup>

In 1082 the tone was intensified:

And if with divine grace helping us we would quickly and bravely destroy the ancient enemy and despise all his wiles, let us aspire not only not to avoid the persecutions that come from him and death for the sake of

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64 Reg. Greg. VII: 14a, p. 486, for the adherents of Rudolf of Rheinfelden: "Ut autem Rodulfus regnum Teutonicum regat et defendat, quem Teutonici elegerunt sibi in regem ad vestram fidelitatem, ex parte vestra dono largior et concedo, omnibus sibi fideliter adherentibus absolutionem omnium peccatorum vestramque benedictionem in hac vita et in futuro vestra fretus fiducia largior." Reg. Greg. XI: 3, p. 574, to his trusted agents about recruiting Duke Welf IV or other princes for the papal party 1081: "Quam voluntatem si in eo vel etiam in aliis potentibus viris amore beati Petri pro sourum peccatorum absolutione ductis cognoveris, ut perficiant, elabora nosque certos reddere diligenter procura."

65 "... adiuuate et succurrite praedicto patri vestro et matri [i.e. St. Peter and the Church] si per eos absolutionem omnium peccatorum et benedictionem atque gratiam in hoc seculo et in futuro habere desideratis." In Cowdrey, ed. *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (1972), no. 54 p. 134.

66 Epp. vag. no. 26, pp. 66–9.

righteousness, but also for love of God and for the defence of the Christian religion to desire them. [...] For our master cries, "If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him" (2 Tim. 2:12).<sup>67</sup>

These letters leave no doubt that Gregory VII thought of those who fought for his cause as those who "suffered for the cause of righteousness," and as martyrs who would get a reward in Heaven because they had given a sacrifice to God. Gregory VII alluded to this theme in many of his other letters, in which he described his vision of the Church and its relation to secular powers. If we define martyrdom broadly as "the bearing of witness to Christ by accepting death or injury for his sake," we may say with H.E.J. Cowdrey that to Gregory, martyrdom was a challenge to all Christians and "an integral part of Christianity as he presented it to all sorts and conditions of men".<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the two letters that are quoted above are the most fervent and direct examples of Gregory's use of martyr-language in appeals to secular warriors. There is no evidence that he actually promised the rewards of martyrdom to those he wanted to recruit for his cause.<sup>69</sup> Rather, he urged his followers to be like martyrs, to be willing to give this sacrifice, and to be prepared to lay down their lives for Christ and the true order of the Church, and for this they would surely get a reward. In doing so, Gregory VII made a distinct contribution to statements about holy wars, which would reappear in the crusade terminology, and later we shall see these same biblical texts and the theme of self-sacrifice in imitation of Christ used in crusade preaching and theology.

The actual declarations and formulas of spiritual rewards of Gregory VII, however, were not shaped by the language of martyrdom. As we have seen, Gregory promised eternal life or the remission of sins, and these remissions were granted on his own apostolic authority and applied to both dead and surviving warriors. He did not grant remissions of penance, which means that he chose a different concept for the spiritual rewards than Alexander II had done when he granted what seem to be actual indulgences for the warriors in Spain

67 Reg. Greg. IX: 21 pp. 602–3 for all faithful of the apostolic chair; translation from Cowdrey 2001, p. 9.

68 Cowdrey 2001, p. 3.

69 According to Cowdrey 1985, p. 48, and Cowdrey 2001, p. 8, Gregory VII "in effect canonised" the knight Erlembald, the leader of the Patarenes of Milan, who had died in 1075, and whom the chronicler Bertold of Reichenau praised as a martyr knight. Even so, the official declaration of Erlembald's status as martyr came only after his death and was not used to recruit him. Another Patarene was, however, described by Gregory as a martyr while still alive, but he was a priest, Luitprand, who suffered mutilations during the riots; cf. Cowdrey 1985, p. 48.

in 1063.<sup>70</sup> However, we cannot conclude that Gregory VII was deliberately opposed to the use of indulgences for the recruitment of warriors.<sup>71</sup> In the eleventh century, the indulgences can hardly have presented themselves as the most obvious institution for the popes to utilize for their ends and needs. As we shall see in the next chapter, the indulgences appear to have been very rare in this period, and they were hardly used by the papacy at all.

Victor III (1086–88), the successor of Gregory VII and the immediate predecessor of Urban II, launched a campaign against Muslims as well. In 1087, a fleet set out from Pisa and Genoa and conquered Mahdia on the coast of Africa. According to the chronicle of Montecassino, Victor III launched this expedition at a council, granted the warriors a banner of St. Peter, and sent them off “for the remission of their sins.”<sup>72</sup> This chronicle was, however, written about 50 years later, and its description is probably influenced by the events of the First Crusade and the way these were related in the chronicles.<sup>73</sup>

This survey of the papal promises of spiritual rewards for warriors prior to the pontificate of Urban II has shown that there was no set formula for these declarations in this period. They are often shaped as promises of eternal life and/or as the remission or absolution of all sins, but the formulations and their explanatory arguments vary from one to another. The popes did not hesitate to make “transcendental promises” of rewards in heaven and on God’s behalf. On the other hand, the popes did not promise the state of martyrdom for the recruitment of warriors directly. Nonetheless, the idea of martyrdom may well to some extent have influenced the beliefs of the popes. From the outset, this may have been at the core of their firm conviction that there was indeed a reward in Heaven for those who died for the faith, and might have been the reason why they saw themselves capable of promising such a reward. Still, the popes appear to have been cautious not to actually promise martyrdom directly. The general promises of “heavenly rewards” are almost too vague to be taken to

<sup>70</sup> Against the interpretation argued here, see now Chevedden 2005, pp. 286–93.

<sup>71</sup> As did Gottlob 1906, pp. 46–60, who asserted that Gregory VII was firmly opposed both to the institution of indulgences in itself and to the idea of using indulgences for the recruitment of warriors.

<sup>72</sup> “Unde cum episcopis et cardinalibus consilio habito de omnibus fere Italie populis christianorum exercitum congregans atque vexillum beati Petri apostoli illis contradens sub remissione omnium peccatorum contra Saracenos in Africa commorantes direxit.” *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* III: 71, in MGH *Scriptores in Folio* 34 (1980), p. 453.

<sup>73</sup> See H.E.J. Cowdrey, “The Mahdia Campaign” in *Popes, Monks, and Crusaders*, XII pp. 1–29.

mean assurances of martyr status.<sup>74</sup> If the popes wanted to invoke the idea of martyrdom they could have referred to the names of known martyrs as those who had gone before, but nowhere in these letters do the popes mention the names of martyrs, and only Gregory VII set martyrdom in general as an example for the warriors to emulate. The reason may be that it was believed that the decision about martyr status for a given person was not for the pope to make, that only God could confer this status, and that it had to prove itself through visions and miracles.<sup>75</sup> The remission of sins, on the other hand, was within the authority of the pope by virtue of his apostolic powers.

The indulgence of Alexander II stands out as a unique example of remissions of penances in this survey. It is not difficult to understand, however, why this type of reward became the preferred one in the course of the twelfth century: the indulgences granted a reward that would have an immediate effect for the recipient. The warrior did not have to die for the Church in order to fulfil the criteria for the indulgence, nor did he have to wait until he eventually died to enjoy the benefits; he would feel the burden of his penances lifted immediately. Both prospects made the promise of indulgences more appealing, and a better instrument for the recruitment of benefactors to the Church than the heavenly rewards, which were traditionally assured. Already the popes of the eighth century, as well as Gregory VII, had stated that their rewards would apply not only to those who actually died for the Church, but by speaking only of heavenly rewards they could not endow their grant with an immediately recognizable effect for the recipient. This contrast shows how 'handy' the indulgences were. Not only did they have an effect already in this life, but since their criteria were subject to the decisions of popes and bishops they could be graded according to the efforts of the recipients or the urgency of the cause.

### 2.3 Pope Urban II and the Spiritual Merit for the First Crusade

These letters by earlier popes may have served as a reservoir of terminology and ideas for Urban II when he proclaimed the Crusade, and he could well have known these letters of his predecessors. The reform papacy showed an interest in finding and preserving the testimonies of earlier popes, and especially in texts that could legitimise warfare on behalf of the Church. Thus, the letters of Leo IV and John VIII were copied in the late eleventh century; Leo's letter appears as a decretal in the canonical collections of Ivo of Chartres

<sup>74</sup> As Flori seems to do 1990, p. 629.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Morris 1993, pp. 95, 98, 103.

(c. 1040–1115),<sup>76</sup> and the register of John was copied at Montecassino at the command of Abbot Desiderius (1058–86), the later Pope Victor III.<sup>77</sup>

### *Letters before Clermont*

Urban II had already granted spiritual privileges for warriors before the proclamation of the Crusade, and these privileges may also throw some light on the spiritual wages he promised at Clermont, and the relation between his ideas and the legacy of his predecessors. Urban II took up the papacy's involvement in Spain with seriousness and enthusiasm, and from very early on in his pontificate, he encouraged and supported the Christian reconquests with letters and privileges. In 1085, the Christian cause had been greatly advanced by the conquest of Toledo by Alfonso VI, but the following year his army suffered a great defeat from the North African Almoravid forces, who were now appearing in Spain, and who replaced the reign of the Taifas in the early 1090s. This new dynasty posed a greater threat to the Christian cause than the Taifa kingdoms had done, and the Almoravids conquered back many of the border towns taken by the Christians.<sup>78</sup> This situation may have given cause for renewed action by the papacy, but the involvement of Urban II was not merely directed by a wish to extend Christian domination of Spain in general; more specifically, he wished to further the interests of the papacy and to secure a close attachment to Rome of the Spanish church, which had been isolated during the Muslim rule and still in many places adhered to its own, Visigothic rite. In his policy towards Spanish ecclesiastic and secular authorities, Urban II was thus continuing the efforts of Alexander II and Gregory VII. He reorganised the Spanish church and created new archbishoprics in Toledo and Tarragona, and also enlarged papal authority and dominion in Spain when making new vassals of St. Peter and holding their lands as fiefs.<sup>79</sup>

Urban II seems to have taken a special interest in Tarragona, an old Visigothic metropole, which was now a desolate border town between Christian and Muslim territory.<sup>80</sup> In 1089, the pope wrote to the nobility and clergy of Catalonia, urging them to help in rebuilding the town and church of Tarragona, and

76 *Decretum* x, 87; *Panormia* VIII, 30. Later it was received in the *Decretum* of Gratian, C 23 q. 8 c. 9; C 23 q. 5 c. 46.

77 Cf. Becker II p. 365.

78 O'Callaghan pp. 27–35; Riley-Smith 1986, pp. 18–20; Benjamin W. Wheeler, "The Reconquest of Spain before 1095" in Setton, ed. *A History of the Crusades* I (1958), pp. 31–9; Erdmann pp. 292–3.

79 Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II* (1964), vol. I pp. 227–54; Flori 1990 pp. 633–4; 639–41.

80 In 1090, Berenguer II, count of Barcelona, enfeoffed all his lands and especially Tarragona to the papacy as *terra sancti Petri*; cf. Becker I p. 246, Riley-Smith 1986, p. 19.

enjoining them to do this “in penitence and for the remission of sins”.<sup>81</sup> The pope likened this work to a penance by encouraging those who might have planned to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or other places to contribute instead to the restoration of Tarragona, which was to be “a wall and ante-mural of Christianity against the Saracens”, and he promised that they would get the same “*indulgentiam*” for this work as if they had made the pilgrimage.<sup>82</sup> This means that pilgrims to Jerusalem could have their penances commuted into the work for Tarragona, but the privilege was not confined to them. Even contributors who had not vowed to go on a pilgrimage would get the remission of sins.

In 1091, the pope wrote again to Count Ermengaud of Urgell and prompted him once more to work for the restoration of the town and church “for the salvation of your soul”, reminding him also of the earlier promise of spiritual rewards. Urban now described the work he wanted the count to do as an acceptable sacrifice to God for which the count could expect the remission of sins:

You shall not doubt that you can bring the almighty Lord an acceptable sacrifice and gain indulgence for your sins if by your help Christianity is augmented in this town.<sup>83</sup>

In addition, the count was admonished to obey the new archbishop Berengar of Tarragona and to help him in the restoration for “the indulgence of the holy apostles and our selves”.<sup>84</sup> The pope ended the letter by commanding the count to do this work “in penitence and for the absolution of sins”.<sup>85</sup>

81 “Vobis ergo in poenitentiam peccatorumque remissionem mandamus ut potentia et divitiis vestris in restitutionem ejusdem ecclesiae devotissime et intentissime desudetis.” PL 151: 302–303, *La Documentacion pontifica hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, ed. D. Mansilla 1955, pp. 46–7.

82 “Eis autem qui vel in Hierusalem vel in partes alias poenitentia spiritu vel devotionis ituri sunt, suademus totam illam viae et sumptus operam restitutioni ecclesiae Tarraconensis impendere, quatenus auxiliante Domino et cathedra inibi tuto habeatur episcopalis, et civitas eadem Saracenorum opposita populis in murum et antemurale Christicolae populi celebretur, quibus eandem ex Dei misericordia indulgentiam pollicemur quam promererentur si indictae viae prolixitatem explerent.” PL 151: 303.

83 “Acceptabile siquidem omnipotenti Domino sacrificium te offerre et peccatorum tuorum indulgentiam consequi ne dubitaueris, si in eadem urbe christianitatis tuo auxilio procuratur.” Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien I: Katalanien II* (1926), pp. 286–7.

84 “per beatorum apostolorum et nostram indulgentiam.” Ibid.

85 “Hoc itaque tibi in penitentiam et peccatorum absolutionem indicimus.” Ibid.

As in the letter from 1089, the underlying idea is that the labour for Tarragona works for the absolution of sins in the same way as doing penance. In 1091, this effect is not stated in terms of commutation of a pilgrimage or other particular penance, but by describing the work as a sacrifice made to God, undertaken in penitence, and which will earn the remission of sins. Both letters also use the word "*indulgentiam*", which later became the term for an indulgence. Here, however, it is not used in the modern, specific sense of remission of temporal punishments, but more broadly as forgiveness of sins, or simply "forbearance".

### *Letters after Clermont*

The council of Clermont had convened from 18 to 27 November 1095, and in either December 1095 or February 1096,<sup>86</sup> the pope wrote to all faithful in Flanders explaining about the expedition he had proposed to the Franks, urging the Flemish to join the expedition, and stating what had been declared about the spiritual reward for it at Clermont:

we visited Gaul and urged most fervently the lords and subjects of that land to liberate the eastern churches. At a council held in Auvergne, as is widely known, we imposed on them the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of their sins ...<sup>87</sup>

In September 1096, the pope explained about the reward that had been promised at Clermont in a letter to his followers among the clergy and people of Bologna:

You should know, moreover, that if any men among you go there not because they desire earthly profit but only for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, we, acting as much on our own authority as on that of all the bishops in Gaul, through the mercy of almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church, relieve them of all penance imposed for their sins, of which they have made genuine and

86 Hagenmeyer dated the letter Dec. 1095 (p. 136) but other scholars follow Ruinart who indicated Feb. 1096, cf. Becker II p. 386 n. 254.

87 "Gallicanas partes visitavimus eiusque terrae principes et subditos ad liberationem Orientalium ecclesiarum ex magna parte sollicitavimus et huiusmodi procinctum pro remissione omnium peccatorum suorum in Arvernensi concilio celebriter eis iniunximus ..." Hagenmeyer p. 136. Translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 38.

full confession, because they have risked their belongings and lives for the love of God and their neighbour.<sup>88</sup>

The phrasing of the latter letter is closer to the *Liber Lamberti* text of the canons of Clermont, and might seem to be consistent with the interpretation of the promise as a commutation of penance, whereas the letter to the Flemish seems to speak of a wider and more generous spiritual reward and uses the formula *remissio peccatorum*. As explanation of the difference between the formulations about the spiritual reward, some historians have pointed to the fact that the letters were written for different audiences and with different purposes.<sup>89</sup> The addressees of the first letter were lay princes and knights whom Urban wanted to invite to participate in the crusade, and the purpose was to make the expedition appear attractive to the knights. The second letter, on the other hand, was written at a time when the expedition had gained wide support and following, and when the pope tried to limit the participation in the crusade to those who were actually able to fight. Here, clerics and monks who were not allowed to fight are strictly ordered not to go, unless they have permission from their bishop or abbot, and the lay people should also seek permission from their bishop. Similarly, the spiritual promises are phrased in a stricter and more formal fashion, stating the conditions for obtaining the reward – penitence and full confession – as well as the grounds on which it was valid: the authority of the pope and all archbishops and bishops of Gaul, the mercy of God, and the intercession of the Church.

When writing the letter to the Flemish then, it was in the first stages of the movement, when the pope had less reason to be cautious about his formulations and at a time when he had perhaps had less time to consider his words carefully. On the other hand, it is very remarkable that the terms in the letter to Bologna are quite precisely the terms of the “real”, mature indulgence,<sup>90</sup> and that its conditions were the same as those emphasized by the later theology: the confession of the recipient, the authority of the issuer, the intercession of the Church, and the importance of the cause. The reward described by Urban

88 “Sciatis autem eis omnibus, qui illuc non terreni commodi cupiditate sed pro sola animae suae salute et ecclesiae liberatione profecti fuerint, paenitentiam totam peccatorum, de quibus veram et perfectam confessionem fecerint, per omnipotentis Dei misericordiam et ecclesiae catholicae preces tam nostra quam omnium paene archiepiscoporum et episcoporum qui in Galliis sunt auctoritate dimittimus, quoniam res et personas suas pro Dei et proximi caritate exposuerunt.” Hagenmeyer p. 137; PL 151: 483. Translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 39.

89 Mayer 1996, p. 33; Flori 1990, pp. 641–2.

90 As was also noted by Michel Villey, pp. 142–3.



here is not actually a commutation of penance, as has been claimed by several historians.<sup>91</sup> That the pope “relieves” (*dimittimus*) of all penance those who will undertake the expedition does not mean that they will have their original penances commuted into taking part in the crusade. The meaning is that if they fulfil the specific conditions, they will gain a full remission of penance, i.e. an actual indulgence.

Does this mean that they will not gain the remission of sins? The letter to Bologna does not mention the remission of sins, and on the surface it may seem to be in sharp contradiction to the letter to the Flemish. However, instead of asserting that the pope was unsure about the reward, or that he changed his mind back and forth between promises of remission of penances and of remission of sins – and between transcendental and non-transcendental promises – it seems more appropriate to consider the letter to Bologna in light of the letters for Tarragona in 1089 and 1091. In these, the idea was that fighting for the Church, if it was done in penitence, would merit the remission of sins in the same way as doing penance would. Can we not assume that Urban thought that fighting for the “liberation of the Church” in the East, and risking lives and belongings for love of God and neighbour would merit *remissio peccatorum* for the crusaders, too? Also, the fact that Urban described the same situation as earning the remission of sins in the letter to the Flemish and as worth the remission of penances in the letter to Bologna indicates that it must have meant the same to him.

These themes reappear in Urban’s later letters about crusade and reconquest, and they confirm this interpretation.

The purpose of limiting participation in the crusade to those who were able to fight is also behind a letter by Urban II to the congregation of Vallombrosa from October 1096. This letter does not state or describe the nature of the spiritual reward for the crusaders, but it is of interest in this connection, because it gives evidence of the pope’s idea of the nature of the expedition. According to this letter, it was to be a military expedition to Jerusalem, conducted by armed warriors, and the pope expressly forbade clerics and monks to take part in it, because they had sworn themselves to spiritual warfare and were not allowed to bear arms. In this letter, too, Urban decreed that if men of holy orders wanted to accompany the knights, they should first obtain permission from their bishop or abbot. Moreover, the pope once again described the participation in the crusade as a sacrifice, *oblatio*. He says to the monks and clerics who wanted to join the crusade that,

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91 Gottlob 1906, pp. 71–2; I.S. Robinson 1990, p. 344; Duncalf p. 246.

This is the right kind of sacrifice, but it is planned by the wrong kind of person. For we were stimulating the minds of knights to go on this expedition, since they might be able to restrain the savagery of the Saracens by their arms and restore the Christians to their former freedom: we do not want those who have abandoned the world and have vowed themselves to spiritual warfare either to bear arms or to go on this journey; we go as far as to forbid them to do so.<sup>92</sup>

This means that going on crusade is a good and meritorious deed – but not for the monks. The right kind of person to plan such an undertaking is the armed warrior. For a warrior, moreover, taking part in the crusade would be *recta oblatio*, the right kind of sacrifice – or an acceptable sacrifice, as Urban had written in 1091, to the count of Urgell about his work for the Church of Tarragona. Thus, we see the same idea of fighting for the Church as a meritorious sacrifice, which Urban had stated in connection with the reconquest, used also about the crusade to Jerusalem.

Sometime between 1096 and 1099, Pope Urban wrote once again to the counts of Catalonia.<sup>93</sup> Again, he ordered them to restore the city and church of Tarragona for the remission of sins. But now he was concerned that some of them might have decided to join the crusade to the Holy Land, and he urged them to stay in Spain and to continue their efforts there, “because it is no virtue to rescue Christians from Saracens in one place, only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Saracens in another.” Clearly, it was the same battle that was going on in Spain and in the East, and the pope would not let one get in the way of the other. We also see a close parallel to the letters he wrote to Spain before 1095. In the same way as he had in 1089 admonished the Catalonians to put their efforts into the Christian cause at home instead of going on a pilgrimage, he now ordered them to stay at home and fight instead of joining the crusade to Jerusalem.<sup>94</sup> It seems that in both cases he also proposed the same spiritual reward for both causes. In 1089 he stated this explicitly, but

92 “Recta quidem oblatio, sed non recta divisio.” *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. R. Hiestand (1985), pp. 88–9. Translation from L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 39. Hiestand suggested an insertion of ‘ecclesias’ and in that case the meaning becomes: “... restore the Christian churches to their former freedom.”

93 The letter was printed by Kehr pp. 287–8, who dated it 1089–91, but later historians generally agree that it alludes to the crusade to the Holy Land, and that it must have been written 1096–99, cf. Erdmann p. 294 n. 37; Becker II p. 347; O’Callaghan p. 33.

94 In 1099 he also sent back Archbishop Bernard of Toledo on the grounds that there were plenty of heathens for him to fight at home, cf. Mayer 1972, p. 30, Erdmann 1955, p. 295.

in 1096/1099 he was less explicit. Apart from the general statement that the work for Tarragona would be “for the remission of sins”, here he only says that:

No one must doubt that if he dies on this expedition for the love of God and his brothers, his sins will surely be forgiven and he will gain a share of eternal life through the most compassionate mercy of our God.<sup>95</sup>

This statement only speaks of a reward for those who die, an eventuality not even hinted at in any of Urban's earlier letters. It could be taken to mean that the pope was limiting the privilege to those who died, and did not think that the efforts of those who survived would merit a reward. But, as remarked by H.E. Mayer, it does seem more likely that Urban would have promised a reward also for those who survived, since “Tarragona could not be rebuilt by candidates for martyrdom alone.”<sup>96</sup> Indeed, the pope had already alluded to this in the opening of the letter, when he once again stated that the efforts for Tarragona would be for the remission of sins. This must have applied to all participants, dead or surviving, and the statement was intended as a reminder of the earlier privileges granted for this cause that were still in effect. We may therefore assume that the pope was still thinking of the work for the church of Tarragona as a meritorious work that would assure the remission of sins in the same way as a penance, and that he now only wanted to make the point that those who gave their life would be absolutely sure to gain a share in eternal life.

It is, however, remarkable that this letter speaks of the rewards for those who were killed, because Urban's other letters are silent about this eventuality. Generally, the letters and crusading bulls of later popes do not dwell on the possibility of the crusaders being killed, as we shall see later on, probably because this eventuality did not pose an attractive prospect to the potential crusaders. The reason why Urban brought it up this time might have been that this letter should be seen as a response to a question posed on behalf of some people who had had their vow to go to Jerusalem commuted to an obligation to fight in Spain instead.<sup>97</sup> These people may have wanted to make sure that their rewards in this fight would be the same also if they died.

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95 “In quia videlicet expeditione si quis pro Dei et fratrum suorum dilectione occubuerit, peccatorum profecto suorum indulgentiam et eterne vite consortium inventurum se ex clementissima Dei nostri miseratione non dubitet.” Kehr pp. 287–8.

96 Mayer 1996, p. 28.

97 As proposed by Janus Møller Jensen 2001, p. 71.

There is a remarkable continuity between the language Urban used about the rewards for the fight in Spain and in the Holy Land. In both situations, his idea was that taking part in the fight works like a penance, because it is done as a sacrifice to God.

Only in his last letter did Urban II speak of the spiritual reward as a “share of eternal life”, a phrase that was equivalent to those used by Leo IV, John VIII, and Gregory VII. In this context it was also fitting, since he was speaking of the rewards for those who died on the expedition, but in general, Urban was more focused on granting rewards to the survivors, and to this end the indulgences were better suited. As noted above, the indulgences were all in all a very “handy” instrument for granting rewards to the benefactors of the Church: they had an effect already in this life which made them more attractive to the recipients, and the criteria were subject to the decisions by popes and prelates and could be adjusted to different situations. It thus seems that Urban chose the precedent of Alexander II over that of Gregory VII and his other predecessors: an indulgence of penances as well as the remission of sins.

The fact that Urban phrased his promise made at Clermont in different ways in his letters may to some extent be explained by the different audiences, but we also have to remember that the indulgences were not a well-established concept at this time, and that neither their theology nor terminology had been laid down yet. When we bring all of Urban's statements on the reward together, we may, however, deduce that his idea was that the rewards for those who survived would be the remission of sins and the remission of penance, while the rewards for those who died would be the remission of sins and eternal life.

It appears very likely that the tradition of pilgrimages had an influence on Urban II's concept of the spiritual reward he granted the crusaders. Several crusade historians have found that pilgrimage was an important constituent element in Urban's idea of the crusade, and that he envisioned the crusade as a fusion of pilgrimage and holy war – and they have suggested that the reward he granted was inspired by the rewards for pilgrims.<sup>98</sup> It would be wrong to assume, however, that Urban II simply borrowed a practice of pilgrimage indulgences and transferred it to the crusade, or that indulgences for pilgrimages were a well-established institution at this time. While there is evidence of remissions of penances for individual pilgrims to Rome before the First Crusade, there is hardly any evidence to substantiate a tradition for general grants of indulgences for pilgrimages, neither to Rome nor to Jerusalem,

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98 Mayer 1996, pp. 26–30; Riley-Smith 1997a pp. 23–52, 67–70; Robinson 1990, pp. 322–30; Purkis 2008, pp. 15–22.

before the twelfth century.<sup>99</sup> In fact, the sole evidence appears to be Urban II's letter for Tarragona from 1089, which attests that there was a certain reward to be gained by going to Jerusalem, since he stated that those who worked for Tarragona would get the same "*indulgentiam*" there (whatever that meant). The next mention of a Jerusalem indulgence is only in letters of Alexander III from 1163–72, which state that pilgrims for the Lord's Sepulchre would get an indulgence of one year.<sup>100</sup>

In his sermon at Clermont, Urban II may well have presented the crusade as being at the same time a military campaign and a religious pilgrimage. Both Robert of Rheims and Guibert of Nogent presented the pope as having urged his audience to fight for the liberation of the Holy City as well as making a religious journey there.<sup>101</sup> In his own letters about it, Urban II does not seem intent on describing the crusade as a pilgrimage, however. The words he used to denote the enterprise were *expeditio*, *iter*, and *labor*. '*Iter*' could in this period signify both a pilgrimage and a military expedition, a fact which makes the interpretation difficult, but it seems that in these instances it does in fact describe a military campaign.<sup>102</sup> '*Labor*' occurs only once and as a parallel to *iter*, and here it might indicate that the enterprise would be both a military campaign and a penitential act.<sup>103</sup> This appears to have been at the heart of Urban's notion of the crusade: that it was a military service for the Church, which served as a penitential act. The crusader could earn merit in the same way as on a pilgrimage, because it involved hardships and sacrifices made for Christ and the Church, and because it showed that one was willing to "take up one's cross and follow Christ" (Matt. 16:24).

In this chapter we have seen how promises of spiritual rewards were used by the papacy to recruit warriors up to the First Crusade, and what concepts were in play. As it turned out, the indulgences became the preferred concept for the

99 Paulus I pp. 20–4, II pp. 292, 305–12; Villey p. 144; Foreville 1958, p. 25; Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and Change* (1998), pp. 194–5. Mayer, on the other hand, finds that "there are some good reasons for assuming that in the pre-crusade period pilgrimages to Jerusalem [...] received promises rather in the style of indulgences" but he does not mention these reasons, 1996, p. 27. See also Richard 1999, pp. 23–4.

100 PL 200: 250, 861; cf. Paulus II, p. 307.

101 Robert in RHC Oc. III pp. 728–30; Guibert in RHC Oc. IV p. 138. Contemporaries clearly understood the expedition as involving pilgrimage; see numerous references in Purkis 2008, p. 16 and Riley-Smith 1997a, pp. 66–69.

102 See Janus Møller Jensen 2003, p. 122, as opposed to Riley-Smith 1997a, p. 67.

103 "carrissimum filium Ademarum, Podiensem episcopum, huius itineris ac laboris ducem, vice nostra constituimus ..." ed. Hagenmeyer p. 136.

proclamation of crusades and in the following chapters we shall look into the development and theology of the indulgences, which evolved at the exact same time as the crusading movement itself.

This chapter has also shown that the main premise of H.E. Mayer's version of the thesis of non-transcendence does not stand. It is by no means certain that the council of Clermont did not grant *remissio peccatorum* to the crusaders, or that Urban II only used this phrase reluctantly and after pressure from popular opinion. On the contrary, his letters on the wars in Spain and the Holy Land show that he thought of the fight for the Church as a penitential act, which would ensure the remission of sins for the warrior. The question of the transcendental effect of Pope Urban II's grant and whether he intended to include God's part of the temporal punishments cannot be answered only by looking at the canons and his letters, however. We must also turn to the general theology of penances at around 1100, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

## Theological Development

### 3.1 The Indulgences in the Eleventh Century

The indulgences emerged as a practise in the early eleventh century and were only described in theological works 150 years later. The practise arose out of the penitential discipline, and it is to this discipline and its transformations that we must look in order to grasp the intentions behind the early indulgences, including the crusade indulgences.

#### 3.1.1 *The Emergence of Indulgences*

The indulgences emerged as one of several means to lighten the burdens of the penitential system of the earlier Middle Ages, the so-called “tariffed penance”.<sup>1</sup> This system was thus one of the main preconditions for the development of the indulgences.<sup>2</sup> The tariffed penance was administered in accordance with the penitential handbooks that prescribed a certain amount of penance for every sin.<sup>3</sup> When a priest took confession, he would ask the sinner about his sins from the list in the handbook and then enjoin the prescribed penances. The amount of penance for each particular sin could be quite severe. The tariffs vary in the different penitential handbooks, but usually the major sins, adultery, murder, theft, and perjury are set at seven years of penance. For practicing usury, or for the dishonouring of one’s parents, the penance might be three years. For various lesser sins, penances might be 10 or 40 days. In most cases, the penances are graded carefully according to the circumstances; e.g. the penances for accidental homicide were lighter than for intentional murder. If the murdered man was a cleric the penances were harder, and reversely, if the sinner was a cleric himself his penance was harder, e.g. a bishop would have to do 10 or 12 years of penance for murder.<sup>4</sup> Penance were usually fasts,

1 From the French “pénitence tarifée” coined by A. Boudinhon in 1897; in German scholarly literature the term “Tarifbusse” is very common as well; cf. Herbert Vorgrimler, *Busse und Krankensalbung* (1978), p. 94.

2 As also noted by Poschmann 1951, p. 112.

3 On the penitential handbooks in general see John T. McNeill & Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks on Penance. A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents* (1938; repr. 1990); Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900–1050* (2001); Vorgrimler pp. 93–102.

4 Cf. The Roman Penitential in McNeill & Gamer p. 302.

and some penitentials describe that the first third of the prescribed time was fasting on bread and water alone, and for the remaining two-thirds, the penitent should abstain from wine and meat.<sup>5</sup>

If the sinner had committed more sins, the penances had to be added up. Thus, the burden of penances could be very hard to bear and even impossible to fulfil within the expected lifetime of the penitent.<sup>6</sup> This is probably the reason for the use of the *commutations* and *redemptions*, which made the system more flexible, and which were a part of the system at least from the sixth century.<sup>7</sup> With a commutation, the originally prescribed penance was exchanged into another form of penance, for example prayers and vigils. Redemptions were commutations of penances into payments of alms. Directions for these commutations and redemptions were given in the penitentials, e.g. the penitential of Regino of Prüm from c. 906 states that one month of fasting on bread and water could be replaced by singing 1200 psalms, if the penitent was kneeling, or 1680 psalms without kneeling. The equivalent of one week was 300 psalms, kneeling. The equivalent of one day was spending supper for two or three poor men, or giving one denarius, or singing the whole Psalter if in the summer, or if in fall, winter or spring, 50 psalms.<sup>8</sup>

The penitentials clearly state that these commutations were only meant to be employed if the penitent was unable to fulfil the prescribed penance. Burchard of Worms was repeating a long tradition when he wrote in his *Corrector* c. 1008–12, that “If one is able to fast and to fulfil what is written in the penitential, it is good, and let him render thanks to God. But to him who is not able we, through God’s mercy, give the following advice, that it be not necessary either for him or anyone else either to despair or to perish.”<sup>9</sup> The commutation of penances was a serious affair, and had to be done according to the directions in order to ensure that the new work had the same redeeming effect as the prescribed penance. It also seems that the idea was that the commutation had to be as hard as the originally prescribed penance; it was not meant to actually remit the penance and make the work easier for the penitent.<sup>10</sup>

Another institution which actually lightened the burden of penances was the *absolutions*. An absolution was basically an intercessory prayer for God’s

5 The Roman Penitential, cited in McNeill & Gamer pp. 302–6.

6 Poschmann 1951, p. 112.

7 Vögtle pp. 96–7.

8 In McNeill & Gamer pp. 319–20. Cf. also The Pseudo-Cummean Penitential, *ibid.* p. 269, The Roman Penitential, *ibid.* p. 299 and Burchard of Worms, *ibid.* p. 344.

9 Burchard of Worms *Decretum* liber XIX: “Corrector et medicus” c. 11. Printed in PL 140: 949ff; translation in McNeill & Gamer p. 344; cf. also pp. 320, 299.

10 Vögtle p. 96.



forgiveness of the sins, granted by a holder of the power of the keys.<sup>11</sup> Originally, the absolutions seem to have been given mostly to individuals who were seriously ill and expected to die before they could fulfil their penance, but by the eleventh century they were employed for a number of purposes and in different forms. They were used by popes and bishops after sermons, in privileges, in letters as a formula of salutation, and they also found their way into the liturgy of penances.<sup>12</sup> Absolutions were also used in calls for assistance at the construction of churches, and for participation in wars against the enemies of the Church, and these absolutions were granted generally to all who answered to the call and met the conditions. In this form, they resemble the indulgences very much, also because they sometimes included a reduction of the penance, even though this reduction was not granted in concrete measure.<sup>13</sup>

The indulgences arose out of this penitential discipline and the different “measures of relief”: the commutations, redemptions and absolutions. The similarities between these institutions and the actual indulgences are so many that it can be hard to tell them apart, especially in the early period.<sup>14</sup> They also appear under the same or very similar designations in the sources – *absolutio*, *relaxatio*, *remissio peccatorum* as well as *indulgentia* are used in formulas of privileges that are regarded as indulgences by modern scholars of theology, but they could also be used to signify what is today regarded as an absolution or commutation by the same scholars. This fact helps obscure the early history of the indulgences. At the same time, it is also a testimony of the close connection between these institutions in the eleventh century: that the indulgences arose out of the commutations and absolutions, and that people of the eleventh century did not have a need to distinguish clearly between them.

11 On absolutions see Poschmann, *Die abenländische Kirchenbusse im frühen Mittelalter* (1930), pp. 221–31; Poschmann 1948, pp. 15–36; Poschmann 1951, p. 113; Paulus I pp. 39–119; Vorgimler p. 204; Anciaux pp. 50–1.

12 The absolutions were not originally part of the rite of penances, but were introduced shortly before 1000. Before that, penances were concluded by the formal rite of reconciliation performed by the bishop, and the prayers by the priest during penances had the form of supplications, which were deprecatory: prayers for the forgiveness of sins, not indicative: authoritative statements that the sins had been forgiven. The indicative formula *ego te absolvo* did not become the authoritative conclusion of confession until 1439, and not until the council of Trent (1545–63) was it declared the only one allowed. Cf. Anciaux pp. 48–9, Poschmann (1948), pp. 18–25. Parallel to this, the theological discussions in the thirteenth century assigned the absolution a definite, sacramental meaning (more on this below).

13 Cf. Poschmann (1948), pp. 44–5.

14 Cf. the discussion of the historiography in chapter 1.2.1 above.

Thus, it does seem appropriate to regard the indulgences as a combination of absolutions and commutations or redemptions as suggested by Poschmann.<sup>15</sup> What characterises the “real” indulgences is further that they were granted for a specific purpose, e.g. the construction of a church or the defence of a town. Depending on the purpose, they might be granted generally to all the faithful, or more specifically to warriors, or to a single prince. A condition for getting the indulgence was the performance of a certain service, or the payment of a certain amount of alms, as set up by the issuer. This work or payment was the “*Ablasswerk*”, as it is called in German scholarly literature. The performance of the *Ablasswerk* was thought to have an effect on the punishments due for sin, and to diminish the need for doing penance. The indulgences resemble the commutations, in that the *Ablasswerk* had the same function as the work that a penance could be commuted into, with regard to the expiation of penances and remission of sins. Indulgences are also granted as remissions of a specific amount of penance, and thus they presuppose the system of tariffed penance and commutations. Another characteristic of an indulgence is, however, that some of the penance is actually remitted, and not just commuted into a work that is just as hard for the penitent. A “true” indulgence implies a gift of grace, in that the work is made easier for the recipient, and this gift is provided by the powers of intercession and absolution of the issuer. Poschmann describes indulgences as a balance between the work performed by the recipient, and the remission and forgiveness granted by the issuer. In some instances, the balance swings more to the side of general absolutions, e.g. in the indulgences for attending the consecration of a church, for which the work of the recipient was relatively small; in other instances the balance swings more to the side of commutations. The crusade indulgences were an extreme instance of the latter, because here the prescribed *Ablasswerk* was so large that for many crusaders it might be even harder to undertake than their whole enjoined penance.<sup>16</sup>

In practice and in their outer form, the indulgences might be said to resemble the general absolutions more, because they were usually granted generally and by bishops, whereas the commutations were usually a matter between the penitent and his confessor. The objects and occasions for which indulgences and general absolutions were granted were also the same: pilgrimages, consecration of churches, construction of churches, of hospitals and bridges, and for fighting in wars proclaimed by the Church. All these privileges were granted to those who did something specific for the Church and for society, whether by spending money or by manual labour, and whether in peace or

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<sup>15</sup> Poschmann 1948, pp. 53–8.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Poschmann 1948, pp. 54–7.

in war. In this respect, there is a continuity between the privileges granted for crusades and for other purposes. On the whole, indulgences, as well as the general absolutions, were employed as a means of directing the pious works of the faithful into causes found to be beneficial for the Church. When it is stated in the source that this pious work was substituting for a certain, specified part of enjoined penance, we might say that we are facing an indulgence, true and proper.

When dealing with sources of the eleventh and early twelfth century all these similarities make it hard to draw a sharp line between indulgences and the other kinds of spiritual privileges, the general absolutions and the commutations. However, as a dividing line against the general absolutions we might take that the indulgences were remissions of penance in a specified measure; as a dividing line against the commutations we might take that the indulgences were granted in a privilege and for a cause that was believed to be beneficial for the Church as a community, and not just for a pious work that was a suitable substitute for the penances of an individual recipient.

The earliest known privilege which all scholars seem to accept as a real indulgence dates from 1035.<sup>17</sup> It is a privilege for the church of the monastery San Pedro de Portella in the diocese of Urgell in Northern Spain, issued by the archbishop of Narbonne together with the bishops of Carcassonne, Barcelona and Urgell. The bishops declared that anyone who visited the monastery and paid a contribution to the church would gain an "absolution" of all their major sins for which they had received penance. In addition, all who came to the annual feast of the fraternity that supported the monastery and paid a contribution to this fraternity would have an "absolution" of all their sins for which they had received penance.<sup>18</sup> This was a rather large indulgence in the eleventh century, and it appears that a synod in Narbonne the same year thought that it was too

17 Cf. Paulus I, p. 138; Gottlob 1907, pp. 58–9; Poschmann 1951, p. 115; Vorgrimler p. 204, n. 9. Gottlob accepted as indulgences some papal privileges of 1011, 1017 and 1030. Paulus examined these and a number of other supposedly early indulgences, but found that they were either later forgeries or not real indulgences, 1 pp. 32–4, 132–7. On the other hand, Paulus accepted some papal grants to individual pilgrims from the ninth century and on as "individual indulgences," a view which was refuted by Poschmann 1948, pp. 59–62.

18 "...ab omnipotentis Christi dextera absolutus permaneat ex omnibus maioribus peccatis, unde penitentiam habet. [...] permaneat absolutus ex omnibus peccatis penitentiam accepit." Cited in Paulus I pp. 138–9 n. 6.

large, for the synod reduced this indulgence to an absolution of only one major sin; the one which the penitent “feared the most”.<sup>19</sup>

The formula as well as the generous size of the Portella indulgence can be regarded as a testimony of the early, unfinished character of the institution at this time. The formula used is *peccatis absolutus*, absolution of sin, but is nevertheless regarded as an indulgence even by Paulus, who must thus have been convinced that it was intended as a remission of the penances.<sup>20</sup> Also the grant of “absolution” of one major sin is untypical of an indulgence; later they were always measured in days or years, e.g. 20 or 40 days, which meant a remission of 20 or 40 days of enjoined penances. This way of measuring indulgences is a sign of their origin in the practise of tarified penance, but it continued into the late Middle Ages when the indulgences had long been separated from the penitential practise, and when indulgences had grown so large that the reference to a specific number of days seems somewhat absurd. In the fifteenth century, indulgences of 10,000 or 20,000 years were promoted, and apparently enjoyed a great popularity even if it cannot be proved that they were ever authorized by the proper officials.<sup>21</sup>

The number of documented indulgences from the eleventh century is very small, which makes it difficult to say much about the usual size of indulgences in this century,<sup>22</sup> but in the twelfth century, indulgences of 10, 20 or 40 days or 1–3 years were typical. It appears that plenary indulgences were granted exclusively for crusades until the institution of the Roman jubilee in 1300 – a fact which must have made the crusade indulgence a remarkable offer. A single example of a plenary indulgence for other purposes before this time was sup-

19 “...de parte Dei et nostra maneat absolutus de I ex maioribus peccatis, quod plus timet et unde maiorem penitentiam habet.” Cited in Paulus I p. 140 n. 1.

20 He does not reveal his arguments, but seems to gather this meaning from the overall context of the document, which also contains some privileges which Paulus, as opposed to Gottlob, does not regard as true indulgences. Cf. Paulus I pp. 138–41; Gottlob 1906, pp. 219–24.

21 See for instance Sixten Ringbom: “Bild och avlat: I. Veronicabilden” in *Iconographisk post* 3 (1983), pp. 8–18 on large indulgences for reading prayers in front of the Veronica.

22 Gottlob counted 19 indulgences from the eleventh century, including the crusade indulgence of 1095 (Gottlob 1907 pp. 57–63). Paulus only accepted 6 of these and found 11 indulgences in all from the eleventh century (I pp. 132–57, 195–6). Gottlob found that the eleventh-century indulgences for granting alms to churches were usually plenary and were only minimized later because of the competition from the crusade indulgences (1906 p. 213). This was also refuted by Paulus, who found that a three-year indulgence of Nicholas II from 1060 was unusually large for the eleventh century (I p. 151).

posedly granted by Honorius III in 1216 to visitors of the Portiuncula church, but this appears to be false.<sup>23</sup>

Most of the early grants of indulgences were privileges to churches and monasteries, and, like the grant to San Pedro de Portella, they granted a remission to the visitors and benefactors of these places. Thus, they were benefices both to the institutions, who would gain the income from more visitors, and to the visitors who would be relieved of some of their penance. The early grants were all to institutions in Northern Spain and Southern France.<sup>24</sup> Since Paulus found no indulgences issued by bishops for Germany in the period before 1200, it appears that they were not a common phenomenon in Northern Europe in the twelfth century.<sup>25</sup>

The bishops who granted the early indulgences have left us no explanations of how they thought they worked. Neither are there any traces of any conciliar discussions about indulgences in the eleventh century, and the theological writers of this century do not seem to have been interested in the subject. As noted by Poschmann, the bishops who introduced the indulgences were practically-minded men, who were concerned with the provision of material means for the life of the Church, and they do not seem to have been aware of the theological implications of this new institution.<sup>26</sup> Probably also the many similarities between the indulgences and the commutations and absolutions helped disguise the fact that it was an innovation that needed canonical and theological foundation.

This leaves us with very little to go on with regard to the ideas and intentions behind the eleventh- and early twelfth-century indulgences, including the crusade indulgences. A very important clue to their meaning, however, is the penitential discipline and the theology of penances in this period – as is also noted by several modern crusade historians.<sup>27</sup> As the indulgences were remissions of penances it is necessary to look at the ideas of penances and of their efficacy.

23 Paulus II pp. 312–22.

24 Paulus I pp. 147–57. Gottlob (1906 p. 196) links this fact to the need for reconstruction of churches following the *reconquista* of Northern Spain.

25 Paulus I p. 193.

26 Poschmann 1948, p. 52: “Den Bischöfen, die die Ablässe einführten, lag wohl alles theoretische Interesse fern. Es waren Männer der Praxis, die vor allem darauf bedacht waren, für die Bedürfnisse des äusseren kirchlichen Lebens materielle Mittel zusammenzubringen, und sich wahrscheinlich des wesentlich Neuen gar nicht bewusst waren, das ihr Verfahren in sich schloss.”

27 Cf. the discussion on the historiography in chapter 1.2.3 above, esp. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Ernst-Dieter Hehl.

What was the relation between penances and the remission of sins? How did they effect God's forgiveness? Was it the work of satisfaction, or the contrition felt by the penitent that ensured the forgiveness, or was it the authority of the priest who enjoined the penitential work and pronounced the absolution as a keeper of the power of the keys? Or was it rather that God chose whom to be damned, and whom to be saved, and that the contrition felt by the penitent was inspired by God and a sign that he was already forgiven? Were the penitential exercises absolutely necessary, or could they be dispensed with? Who had the authority to make such dispensations, and what was their effect on the remission of sins?

Unfortunately, the answers to these questions are not readily available. Just as the theologians had not yet begun to discuss the indulgences, so they had barely begun to discuss penances. This would change by the middle of the twelfth century, when penances became a topic of the newly emerging scholastic theological tracts, but in the eleventh century, the systematical treatment of the doctrine of penances was practically non-existent.<sup>28</sup> This suggests that we should first look at the penitential discipline itself and on its developments in the eleventh century, and at the ideas that the penitential discipline appears to have been reflecting at various stages.

### 3.1.2 *The Penitential Discipline*

The penitential discipline underwent several fundamental changes during the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> First, from the beginning of the seventh century, the tariffed penance of the penitentials, which had originated in the Iro-Celtic church, was exported to the continent and gradually replaced the canonical penances of the ancient Church. In the old system, penances were used only for grave sins, and usually only once in the lifetime of each sinner. Penance was also public in the sense that the sins and the imposition of the penitential work was public,<sup>30</sup> and that the penitent was excommunicated from the Church while doing penance, and until he was solemnly and publicly readmitted to the Church by a rite of reconciliation performed by a bishop. In the system of the penitentials, penance was imposed also for lesser sins and it was reiterable. It

28 Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement du pénitence au XIIe siècle* (1949), pp. 7, 20.

29 On the history of penances see Anciaux; Arnold Angenendt, *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter* (1997), pp. 626–58; Vorgrimler pp. 28–153; Poschmann 1930; idem 1951 pp. 65–82; Thomas N. Tentler: *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (1977), pp. 3–27. On the practice of penances in the early Middle Ages see S. Hamilton 2001.

30 Opinions differ on the question of whether the confession of sins was also fully public. Vorgrimler states that it is not known what form of confession was the most widespread (p. 94).

was also private in the sense that penance was privately imposed, and that the penitent was not solemnly excommunicated from and publicly reconciled to the Church. He was, however, excluded from the sacraments during Lent, and he was also reconciled to the Church when the penance was done, but this reconciliation was privately performed by his priest.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the system of the penitentials was essentially private, and a matter between a priest and an individual penitent.<sup>32</sup> A basic principle of this system was the private confession, which was generally recommended by the penitentials, and which was necessary for determining the right amount of penance. The question remains, however, how widely distributed the practise of private and regular confession to a priest was in the early Middle Ages.<sup>33</sup> The sources from this period hardly allow for a detailed analysis of this point. The question of how widely distributed the whole system of the penitential handbooks was, and when it replaced older systems in different regions, is also impossible to answer. The main lines are, however, known: the system of the penitentials appears to have been accepted in most Frankish centres in the eighth and ninth centuries, and in Germany around 950. Southern Europe appears to have been slower to accept it, and here the system was met with resistance. In the 1050s Peter Damian – who emphasised the need for doing penance – attacked the penitentials for having no authority, because their statutes were neither the product of councils, nor sanctioned by the pope.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, they were not, and they had received the same kind of criticism on a number of ninth-century Carolingian reform councils. These councils wanted to return to the penitential norms of the canonical penances, and the result was the issuing of new penitential handbooks with tariffs taken from the fathers and the canons.<sup>35</sup> The penitentials continued to circulate in different editions and were never harmonized. The old, public penance lived on in some situations, and the two systems existed side by side. With a simplistic expression, the system comprised public penance for public sins and private penance for private sins. In reality the forms were often mixed, however.<sup>36</sup>

31 So Tentler p. 10. Angenendt states that the excommunication was retained in the new systems (p. 641), Vögtle that the penitents were only excluded from the Eucharist, and that they were sometimes readmitted to it before their full penance was done (pp. 98–9).

32 Tentler pp. 9–10.

33 Angenendt p. 641.

34 Oscar D. Watkins, *A History of Penance* (1920; repr. 1961), pp. 644–5, 740–1; Pierre Adnès, “Penitence” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* xii (1984), col. 968–9.

35 Vögtle pp. 99–100, 109–12; Anciaux p. 44.

36 Angenendt p. 641; Vögtle p. 100; S. Hamilton 2001, esp. pp. 207–10.

The High Middle Ages saw some further and very fundamental changes, both in penitential practise and in the theology of the matter. This happened within all of the four elements that have always been the essential principles of penances: confession, contrition, satisfaction, and reconciliation by a minister of the Church. 1) The necessity of regular, private confession to a priest was discussed by the theologians and declared universally obligatory by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. 2) The contrition felt by the penitent became the essential element of penances and pushed the penitential exercises into a subservient position. 3) Penances were lightened, and made subject to the decision of the priest, who was not obliged to follow the written tariff. 4) The rite of reconciliation turned into the absolution granted at confession, and was moved so that it was granted before the performance of the penitential exercises. Finally, the role of the priest in the reconciliation and absolution of the penitent was more carefully defined, and its importance in the process of forgiveness was radically enhanced. It is very difficult to put a precise date on these changes, and determine when they first emerged and when they were universally distributed and accepted. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century, these four elements were all subject to changes and to discussion among the scholastic theologians who gave penances a place among the seven sacraments.

Thomas N. Tentler has described it as a process of transformation that took place over a period reaching back to the ninth century and lasting into the thirteenth century.<sup>37</sup> In his opinion, this second shift was far more fundamental than the first shift that happened when the penitential handbooks came into use, because the second shift changed the very meaning of penances and the ideas of how sins were forgiven. In fact, both the ancient, canonical penances and the penitentials insisted on rigorous penitential exercises as the only secure way to forgiveness. As noted by Tentler, penances had two major functions: discipline and consolation, and it was precisely the severity of the discipline in both the ancient and early medieval systems that gave the penitent the consolation and assurance of forgiveness of his sins. "One knows he is forgiven because he is willing to perform the overwhelming penitential exercises demanded by the church. The consolation of this system lies in its difficulty. There could hardly be a more convincing test of sincerity than the willing and faithful endurance of either of these ascetic regimes."<sup>38</sup> Thus, when ecclesiastical authorities began to relax the penitential requirements, the reassurance of the forgiveness of sins had to be found elsewhere. The answer of the theolo-

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37 Tentler p. 16.

38 Tentler pp. 13–4.



gians was to emphasize either the contrition of the penitent or the role of the priest, but it was not until the middle of the thirteenth century that a consistent doctrine was formulated and the security was back, when Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus had declared how the pronouncement of the absolution by the priest was the element that effected the remission of sins, and assigned a more secondary role to the contrition.<sup>39</sup>

Our period, the eleventh and twelfth centuries, falls within this process of transformation in which opinions were changing on how penances effected God's remission of sins.

The reasons behind the shifts in the theology of penances in the High Middle Ages are probably many, but we might point at two factors, which have received much attention by the historians of theology. The first is the changes in the rite of penances; the abolition of the excommunication of the penitent and the "allocation" of the reconciliation. In the old, public penance, the relationship between penance and forgiveness, as well as the role of the Church in the process of justification, were relatively lucid. The penitent was excommunicated while doing penance, and this reflected the alienation from the body of faithful that he had brought upon himself by sinning. In order to be justified, the sinner had to purge himself of the sin, which was done by submitting to the penances that were administered by the Church. After the work of satisfaction, the sinner was readmitted to the Church by the solemn rite of reconciliation, which usually took place once a year at Maundy Thursday, when as part of the holy mass the bishop solemnly loosed all the penitents of his diocese and pronounced the absolution.<sup>40</sup> The Church was the administrator of grace and keeper of the power to bind and to loose, which, according to the teachings of the fathers, was interpreted as the power to excommunicate and to reconcile.<sup>41</sup> As long as the sinner remained in sin he was excommunicated on earth and bound in Heaven, and when he had done his penance he was readmitted to the Church and loosed in Heaven. The cause of events was illustrative, and there was no reason to ask what was the cause and what was the effect, even if it may not have been entirely clear whether the bishop had the authority to let people into Heaven at his own discretion, or if he only declared that the sinner was now forgiven by God. The result remained the same.

39 Cf. Tentler pp. 22–7.

40 Vorgrimler pp. 109–10.

41 Ludvig Hödl, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Litteratur und der Theologie der Schlüsselgewalt* (1960), I p. 376.

The increasingly popular systems of private penances distorted parts of this illustrative sequence of events, and in turn raised some important theological questions. First, the penitents were no longer solemnly excommunicated (even if they were in other ways separated from the Church) and this made the binding and the loosening by the priest appear to have lost its object.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, the rite of reconciliation was moved, so that it was granted at the end of confession and thus before the works of satisfaction. This apparently happened around the year 1000.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the penitent had already received the absolution before he performed his penance, and this made the penitential exercises seem less essential. Moreover, it enhanced the role of the priest in the process of justification, and raised the question of whether his part was only to declare the will of God, or if he as a keeper of the keys actually contrived the pardon of the sinner. Actually, both the abolition of the excommunication and the allocation of the reconciliation brought focus on the problem of the power of the keys: the power of the Church over God's forgiveness versus the freedom of God to save whom he chooses.

The second factor is the renewed focus on the contrition and inner conversion of the penitent.<sup>44</sup> While contrition had always been regarded as a necessary prerequisite for fruitful penance and the remission of sins, it is commonly agreed that its importance was further emphasized by the twelfth-century theologians as a part of the interiorisation of ethics and theology which went on in this period. However, some parts of this interiorisation might perhaps be

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42 Poschmann 1948, pp. 19–20.

43 As noted above, Müller and Gottlob thought that it happened later, by the end of the eleventh century. Newer research suggests c. 1000, cf. Vorgrimler pp. 101–2; Poschmann 1948, p. 24; *ibid.* 1951, p. 77; Anciaux pp. 47–8. The reason for the allocation appears to have been the fear that some penitents might not be able to show up at a later rite of reconciliation, and might thus die without receiving absolution. Also, at the beginning it was actually meant to absolve the sins that had been expiated at an earlier penance, and the sins that had now been confessed would only be absolved when the penitent next appeared at confession. Cf. Vorgrimler, *ibid.*

44 Some scholars think that the emphasis on the contrition was a consequence of the allocation of the reconciliation: when the sinner was absolved before the penance the theologians had to look for other grounds for the absolution than the performance of penance and the contrition that this was supposed to bring about. Contrition then became the prerequisite to confession and penance and a sign that the penitent was already forgiven by God (Müller p. 319). Other scholars seem to think that it was the other way around: that the allocation of the reconciliation was a reflection of the belief that God remitted the sins because of the contrition and not because of the satisfaction (Anciaux pp. 48, 51). At any rate, the focus on contrition also brought attention to the problem of the power of the keys.

traced back into the eleventh century. There are signs of this in two anonymous eleventh-century tracts, the *Bamberger Glaube und Beichte* and the *De vera et falsa poenitentia*. The first is a creed and confession in middle high German, perhaps to be used for the common recital of the creed and admission of guilt at the mass on Sundays and feast days, and it places great emphasis on the contrition and shame felt at confession.<sup>45</sup> The same is the case with the *De vera et falsa poenitentia* to which we will return shortly. Apart from these, the most evident signs of an interiorisation are actually found in the papal letters on penance and the fight for the Church, some of which we have examined in the preceding chapter. When Gregory VII and Urban II stated that going to war for the Church could be meritorious, their focus was on the right intention of the warrior – he could earn merit if his inner motivation was devotion to the Church and to Christ.<sup>46</sup>

Beginning in the eleventh century and culminating in the twelfth, confession came to be regarded as the major part of penance. It was no longer mainly a means to ensure that the priest could enjoin the appropriate penance on the sinner; it was also valued as an expression of contrition. Furthermore, it was believed that confession could substitute for a large share of the castigating, penitential exercises because of the shame felt during confession, which was regarded as a kind of interior penance.<sup>47</sup> The focus on the contrition thus meant less emphasis on the exterior, penitential exercises – and also less on the role of the priest and the Church, because the inner contrition was a matter between the sinner and God.

As a third factor, we may mention the development of scholastic theology, which was in itself an important factor behind the changed outlook, and to which we will return in chapter 3.2.

### 3.1.3 *The Meaning of Penances in the Late Eleventh Century*

The eleventh and twelfth century was a time of transition from an older to a newer view with regard to penances.<sup>48</sup> The older view was the view contained

45 Hans Pörnbacher, “Bamberger Glaube und Beichte und die kirchliche Busslehre im 11. Jahrhundert” in D. Albrecht ed., *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag* (1969), pp. 99–114. In a recent study, S. Hamilton has pointed out that early eleventh-century penitential liturgies also state the need for contrition, Sarah Hamilton, “Penance in the age of Gregorian Reform” in *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation*, eds. K. Cooper & J. Gregory (2004), pp. 47–73.

46 As argued by Janus Møller Jensen 2001, esp. pp. 72–9. Cf. also Cowdrey 1997, pp. 77–83; Hehl 2004, pp. 207–9. For a different interpretation, see S. Hamilton 2004.

47 Poschmann 1951, pp. 75, 84.

48 As also noted by Riley-Smith and Hehl, cf. chapter 1.2.3 above.

in the penitentials, in which the idea of a mathematical correspondence between sin and penance and forgiveness was prominent. In the words of Arnold Angenendt, the penitential system was based on the idea of “Ausgleich,” and the penitential was conceived as a kind of checklist, whose function was to check that all the sins of a person, which were believed to be noted in a kind of Heavenly Book, were expiated.<sup>49</sup> The newer views are those expressed by the theologians of the twelfth century, with focus on either contrition or absolution by the priest, and we will return to these later. First, we must consider what the idea was of the relation between penances and forgiveness of sins at the time of the First Crusade, before the explanations of the scholastic theologians.

As mentioned above, the systematic, theological treatment of penances was practically non-existent in the eleventh century. Penance was treated extensively, but casuistically in penitentials and in canonical collections like the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms from the beginning of the century (c. 1008–12), and the collections of Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit from c. 1083 and 1085. There are, however, three works that form an exception to this, and which may give us some insight into the theology of penances in the later part of the eleventh century. The first is the *Liber de vera et falsa poenitentia* by an anonymous author and probably written in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>50</sup> The other two are the writings of Bonizo of Sutri and Ivo of Chartres from the 1090s.

Until the fifteenth century, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* was attributed to St. Augustine, and it gained a wide influence and popularity with the twelfth-century schoolmasters; Gratian quoted entire chapters in his *Decretum*, and it was also used extensively by Peter Lombard.<sup>51</sup> According to Paul Anciaux, who surveyed the eleventh-century expositions on penances, this work is a unique example of methodical treatment of the doctrine of penances in this period.<sup>52</sup> The author wanted to defend the true doctrine of penances against the errors

49 Angenendt pp. 633–4.

50 The dating of *De vera* remains a mystery. It is first mentioned in other sources by the *Decretum* of Gratian, but is probably much earlier. Anciaux (p. 15 with note 2) dates it in the second half of the eleventh century, Poschmann (1951 p. 75) in the middle of it. Müller (p. 296) found that it was written in the tenth or early eleventh century. Hödl (p. 163) finds that it was probably written in Italy by the beginning of the twelfth century, but his arguments do not demand that it is later than c. 1100. *De vera et falsa poenitentia* is printed in PL 40: 1113–30.

51 Anciaux p. 15 with note 2; Hödl p. 159.

52 Anciaux pp. 15–6.

of his time, the “false penances”. The problem of false penances had also been a major concern of Gregory VII at his Roman synods of 1078 and 1080, and the title of the work is reminiscent of the declarations made at these synods. This cannot be taken as proof that the tract was written in direct inspiration from those synods, as the title is probably late; Gratian referred to the work simply as *Liber de poenitentia*, and it appears that it was Peter Lombard who was responsible for the longer title. However, the title is not unwarranted in the work itself, which has the concluding words: “We write this to you, who are a student of truth and a lover of certainty, on true penances while separating the true from the false.”<sup>53</sup> At any rate, the decrees of Gregory VII show us that the problem was discussed in the 1070s and 80s.

What were false penances? In 1078, Gregory VII defined false penances as those not imposed according to the canons of the fathers and to the severity of the offence,<sup>54</sup> that is, those which were not sufficient to expiate the sins. The line of thought thus appears to have its basis in the tariffed penance with the mathematical correspondence between penance and forgiveness. It is also stated, however, that penitents must abandon their way of life if this will lead them to commit new sins, and that only by doing so can they do true penance, which will lead to eternal life. In the decree of 1080 the point is stated differently and perhaps with more theological sophistication.<sup>55</sup> According to this decree, false penances were those which were undertaken while the penitent had not abandoned all his sins,<sup>56</sup> and Gregory stressed the need for a total conversion of the life of the sinner. The fight against false penances was continued by Urban II, who insisted on penance for all sins at the councils at Melfi in 1089 and at Clermont in 1095.<sup>57</sup> The *De vera et falsa poenitentia* agrees with the popes on this point and calls for conversion, stating that “no sin can remain before penance.”<sup>58</sup> There is a further similarity between *De vera* and the canon of Gregory VII from 1078. The latter maintained that warriors, merchants, and

53 Hödl pp. 159–60. *De vera* c. XX, col. 1130: “Haec scribimus tibi, studiosa veritatis et amatrix certudinis, de vera poenitentia, veram a falsa separantes.”

54 Erich Caspar, ed., *Das Register Gregors VII*, (hereafter Reg. Greg.) VI 5b, p. 404: “Falsas penitencias dicimus, que non secundum auctoritatem sanctorum patrum pro qualitate criminum imponuntur.”

55 So Cowdrey 1997, p. 80.

56 Reg. Greg. VII 14a, pp. 481–2. Cf. also Reg. Greg. VII 10, pp. 471–2.

57 Cf. the decrees of Clermont in Somerville p. 115 and 79. Cf. also Janus Møller Jensen 2001, pp. 76–8; Cowdrey 1997, pp. 80–2

58 *De vera* c. II, col. 1114: “nullum peccatum poterit remanere ante poenitentiam.” Cf. c. IX col. 1121: “Sunt plures quos poenitet peccasse, sed non omnino, reservantes sibi quaedam in quibus delectentur ...”

officials, whose daily duties could not be conducted without sin, could not do true penance while they remained in their position. There appears to be an exception for warriors who fought for the Church, however, as it is stated that a knight who wanted to do penance had to lay down his weapons, unless for the defence of justice, and then only on the advice of a bishop.<sup>59</sup> The *De vera et falsa poenitentia* has a similar clause and forbids the penitent to bear arms, or to do business as a merchant or secular administrator, “unless he has the permission one gets by having to obey.”<sup>60</sup> The reason was that these offices could not be conducted without getting involved in sin, which did not agree with the life of the true penitent who ought to “abandon the world”. Leaving the sinful offices was only the second best option. Thus, *De vera* and Popes Gregory VII and Urban II seem to be in agreement that a sinner had to amend his whole life and do penance for all his sins if his penance was to be fruitful at all.

*De vera et falsa poenitentia* also defines the true penances positively as the fruitful and useful penances, those which cure the “leprosy” of sins.<sup>61</sup> Penance has to be of the right kind to be efficacious: it has to nourish faith, charity and the union with the Church,<sup>62</sup> and there can be no penance or remission of sins outside the Church.<sup>63</sup> *De vera et falsa poenitentia* deals with the established conditions for useful penance: confession to a priest, contrition, and satisfaction. The role of the priest is dealt with in a chapter on confession, and *De vera* insists that confession has to be to a priest, because he has the power of the keys. “Those who are loosed by the priests are loosed by God,” *De vera* states, which means that the priest solves the penitent, and God then confirms the judgement – but only if it is just. God only recognises the just and merciful acts of binding and loosening, according to *De vera*, but it does not address the problem of how to know when the priest is using his powers justly. The shame felt in oral confession holds an important role in the remission of sins, and this is why God in his mercy has instituted the confession so that no one should be penitent in secret. The shame is a part of the penalty and turns mortal sins into

59 Reg. Greg. VI 5b, p. 404: “Veram poenitentiam non posse peragere [...] nisi arma deponat ulteriusque non ferat nisi consilio religiosorum episcoporum pro defendenda iustitia ...”

60 *De vera* c. XV 30, col. 1125: “nisi his utatur ex obedientiae licentia.” Müller probably went too far when he saw the statement of *De vera* as a permission to uphold these occupations if one was a vassal or servant, p. 296. He found the discrepancy between *De vera* and Gregory VII so great that it led him to think that *De vera* most probably was written well before Gregory VII, but the argument is not compelling.

61 *De vera* c. I, col. 1113.

62 *De vera* c. IX, col. 1121: “Ista poenitentia non ex fide procedens, nec charitate vel unitate, sterilis manet et sine misericordia.”

63 *De vera* c. XII, col. 1123.

venial sins. These are the reasons why confession to a priest is necessary and useful. However, in cases where it was impossible to find a priest before the sinner died, it could be necessary to confess to a layman or directly to God, and in these cases God would note the intention of the heart to confess to a priest, and have mercy on the sinner.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* appears to be a proponent of the “forgiveness by the priest” solution, but it also noted cases in which the “forgiveness by contrition” was more appropriate. It did not solve the question of the role of the priest and the power of the keys over God’s forgiveness of sins, but it simply stated all conditions in general statements without trying to reach a solution by speculative reasoning.

Bonizo of Sutri and Ivo of Chartres, on the other hand, tried to solve the question and to reach a harmonization of the belief that God forgives when the sinner repents and the belief in the necessity of the absolution of the priest and the need to do penance. Both of them alluded to the adapted *Quacumque hora* text from Ezekiel 18:21–22 and 33:12, “in the very hour the sinner is converted”, which says that sins are forgiven at the moment of contrition.<sup>65</sup> However, neither Bonizo nor Ivo used it to justify the opinion that sins are forgiven by contrition alone or at some moment before confession when the sinner repents to himself. Instead, Bonizo maintained that the remission of sins happened through absolution by the priest, but that it did not have temporal duration: at the very moment the sinner repented and confessed to the priest, and at the sign of the priest, the sinner was justified and no longer a sinner.<sup>66</sup> Why was it then still necessary to do penance? Because of the requirement to “bring forth fruits worthy of repentance” (Luke 3:8), and because these “fruits” permitted the Church to judge about the sincerity of the sinner’s contrition.

It appears from a letter from Ivo to a priest named Gonherio that he had been asked exactly the question why penance and exclusion from the sacraments were necessary, when the prophet had said that, “In the very hour the sinner repents, he is saved.” Ivo’s answer was on the same lines as Bonizo’s, and he explained that the outer penitential exercises were the signs of the inner contrition, and permitted the Church to know that the sinner had been

64 *De vera* c. x, col. 1122, cf. Anciaux pp. 31–42.

65 Cf. Anciaux pp. 52–3. Cf. also above chapter 2.2.

66 Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita Christiana* L. IX, c. 2, ed. E. Perels (1930), pp. 277–8: “Sciendum tamen preterea est, quod remissio peccatorum, que fit per absolutionem sacerdotis, temporis non expectat prolixitatem, set quacumque hora peccator scelera sua sacerdoti confiteri non erubescens vere penituerit, indicatus a sacerdote ilico iam non est peccator sed iustus.”

forgiven by God. The Church could not see into the secrets of the heart, and therefore it could not release anyone without satisfaction. However, the bishop could shorten or prolong the penance in accordance with the effect the penance had on the penitent.<sup>67</sup>

The point of penances was thus to make the inner contrition manifest to the Church and prove that it had been right when it announced the absolution. Moreover, by accepting the castigation the penitent proved that he in fact had the remission of sins from God, because if he had true repentance and the grace of God he would willingly endure the penitential works and atone for his misdoings. To hesitate about doing one's penance could only be a sign that the penitence was lacking. E.-D. Hehl is probably right when he sees in this theology a basis for commuting or cancelling the penance if the penitent took the cross, because the way of the cross had to be the ultimate penance. The decision to take the cross would prove, more than anything else, that the person was living in the grace of God and already had the remission of sins, and therefore further penitential works would be unnecessary.<sup>68</sup>

The theology of Bonizo and Ivo could appear to mean that the outer penitential works were only imposed for the sake of the Church, and did not affect the consequences of sins in the hereafter: that penances were for the Church only and therefore a matter entirely up to the discretion of the Church.<sup>69</sup> On the contrary, Ivo's argument was meant to maintain that the works were an integrated part of the sacrament of penance. To him, the outer penance was the *sacramentum* itself: the sign of the remission of sins.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, Bonizo emphasized the requirement to "bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." The thoughts of Bonizo and Ivo might prepare the way for an idea that penances were for the sake of the Church only, but their own arguments deny such an idea. In their opinion, penances were a necessary element in the process of justification and could not be dispensed with.

Nor does *De vera et falsa poenitentia* lend substance to the existence of a concept of "penances of the Church only" without transcendental effect. On the contrary, *De vera* states that punishments that are not expiated in this life will be transferred to Purgatory, where they will be harder than those of this

67 Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 228, PL 162: 231–2: "Ecclesia vero, quia occulta cordis ignorat, non solvit ligatum, licet suscitatum nisi de monumento elatum, id est publica satisfactione purgatum. [...] In discretione tamen episcoporum est secundum affectum poenitentiae tempus adbreuiare vel prolongare ..."

68 Hehl 1994, pp. 314–5.

69 As Gottlob seems to think was the case in the eleventh century, cf. chapter 1.2.2.

70 Cf. Anciaux pp. 53, 55.



life.<sup>71</sup> Thus penances were clearly meant to purge the sinner until he was worthy of entering the state of the saved. Penance was imposed by the Church in order to help the sinner atone for his sin. If for some reason the performed penance was too small, it had always been envisaged that God might demand a prolonging of the penance in the next world – even if one had lived up to the directions of the Church.<sup>72</sup>

In other words, the sources of the eleventh century, however sparse they may be, do not indicate that there was yet a clear concept of the temporal punishments, or a clear distinction between the earthly and transcendental parts of the temporal punishments; that is, between the penances imposed by the Church and the purgative punishments demanded by God. Thus, there could not have been a clear idea of the difference between the remission of God's and the Church's temporal punishments, either. A clear idea of the temporal punishments would seem to presuppose the clarification of the concept in its distinction from the eternal punishments, and this conceptual distinction was not achieved until Peter Abelard formulated it in the twelfth century.<sup>73</sup> The unfinished state of the concept of temporal punishments is also seen from the fact that the idea of Purgatory as the place where the "residual" and transcendental temporal punishments were expiated had not settled in yet. We will return to these developments in the next chapter.

### 3.1.4 Conclusions

The theology inherited from the fathers of the Church did not indicate precisely how to understand the relation between the penances, the reconciliation/

71 *De vera* c. XVII–XVIII, col. 1127–8. *De vera* uses both the expressions '*purgatorium*' and '*igne purgationis*.' According to the major study by Jacques Le Goff (cf. below notes 96 and 102), the substantive *purgatorium* was only invented by the end of the twelfth century, and prior to this, only adjectival forms were used. This has, however, been refuted by the reviews of his work, which have found earlier examples of the substantive, cf. Christoph Auffarth, *Irdischer Wege und himmlischer Lohn* (2002), pp. 157–8.

72 Poschmann 1948, pp. 37, 56; Vorgrimler p. 149.

73 Cf. Poschmann 1951, p. 84. In a short theological work, Peter Damian (1007–72) used the concept *temporalem poenam* about penance and opposed it to *aeterna*, which are the punishments in Hell. However, this concept comprises only the penances in this life, and the distinction is not similar to that of Peter Abelard, since Damian claimed that the sinner who does not wash off his sins with penance will have to pay with eternal punishment, "Ubi quis accipit peccatum et habet illud secum, nec aliquo supplicio poenaeque diluitur, transit etiam cum eo post mortem, et quia temporalia hic non persolvit, expendet aeterna supplicia." PL 145: 827. There is no room for a transcendental temporal punishment in "purgatory" in this scheme.

absolution by the priest, and God's forgiveness of sins,<sup>74</sup> but we may already detect two different opinions at the end of the eleventh century. The one was that God alone remitted the sins and that the priest was only his minister, who declared that the remission had already taken place. According to Anciaux, this was the general opinion in the eleventh century.<sup>75</sup> The other was that the priest actually effected the remission, and that God then confirmed the judgement of the priest – if it was just, as stated in *De vera et falsa poenitentia*.<sup>76</sup> The idea of *Ausgleich* was perhaps beginning to fade, and the castigating penitential exercises seemed less essential – but the subjective performance by the penitent of shame in confession, or conversion in satisfaction, was still the most important factor for the remission of sins, even though the reconciliation by the priest was also necessary.<sup>77</sup> Penances were done in order to earn the remission of sins – although it could not be known for certain if the penitential works were ever enough to ensure that there was not a punishment waiting in the next world.<sup>78</sup> The best ways to be secure were to fulfil the canonical directions, and to amend one's life entirely. At any rate, penances were not something that could be regarded lightly, as the repeated warnings against false penances show.

This uncertainty and disagreement on the theology of penances is the background against which we must see the different formulations on the spiritual reward for the First Crusade in the papal letters and other sources. This is what makes the interpretation of it so difficult. At the same time, it also explains why the formulations are so ambiguous. Perhaps Pope Urban tried to express himself within the framework of different theologies at the same time, or perhaps he was not himself settled on the question of how to understand the role of the penitential exercises and the power of the Church to remit penance.

One way of seeing it was that the penance had to live up to the norms of the canons of the fathers in order to ensure that it would be enough for the remission of sins. This could be behind the formulations of the reward as a substitution of penances, and that the journey to Jerusalem would be counted as the whole penance, as in the decree of Clermont, if we choose to trust the *Liber Lamberti* on this point.<sup>79</sup>

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74 Vorgimler pp. 120f., 129f.

75 Anciaux p. 41

76 *De vera* c. x, col. 1122. In the twelfth century this was the view of the Victorines and Gandulf of Bologna., cf. Anciaux pp. 295–302, 497; *De vera* col. 1122.

77 Cf. also Vorgimler p. 145.

78 Cf. Poschmann 1948, pp. 37, 51, 56.

79 Ed. Somerville p. 74.

Another way of seeing it was that penances were imposed in order to give the sinner a chance to show his sincere contrition and conversion; that the most important point of penances was true contrition, and that the penitent, by accepting the castigating exercises, proved that he had in fact received the remission of sins from God. This might be behind the formulations about imposing on the knights "the obligation to undertake such a military enterprise for the remission of their sins"<sup>80</sup> in the letter to the Flemish, and the formulation about taking the journey not for the sake of honour and profit, but for the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the Church, and "for devotion alone" in the letter to Bologna and in the Clermont decree.<sup>81</sup> Within this theology, the canonical penance could be relieved if the penitent did something else that proved the same sincere conversion, and this appears to be behind the formulation of the letter to Bologna about relieving the crusaders of all penance. Surely, taking the cross to liberate the Church of God would be nothing less than the utmost of penitence and prove the will to make "the right kind of sacrifice", an expression which Urban himself used on two occasions.<sup>82</sup>

The unclarified situation with regard to the role of the priest and the powers of the Church in the remission of sins and punishments might also explain why Pope Urban's statements do not define what effect his grant was supposed to have on the transcendental part of the temporal punishments, that is on God's temporal punishments. Moreover, a clear distinction between God's and the Church's part of the temporal punishments had not yet been formulated in theology, and therefore we cannot expect Pope Urban to be clear about it either. There appears to be no evidence of such a distinction in the eleventh century. A clear idea of the difference between the remission of God's and the Church's temporal punishments would seem to presuppose the clarification of the concept of temporal punishments and its distinction from the eternal punishments, and this conceptual distinction was not achieved until Peter Abelard formulated it in the twelfth century.

From this background it appears that what Urban II had in mind with regard to the transcendental part of the temporal punishments was that the reward of the crusaders was to have the same effect as the completion of the penance would have had. It could not be known for certain that this meant a complete remission of the transcendental part.<sup>83</sup> Yet there is no doubt that it

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80 Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 136.

81 Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 137.

82 See ed. Kehr p. 286–7; ed. Hiestand 1985, pp. 88–9.

83 See Poschmann 1948, p. 56. Riley-Smith 1992, p. 60.

was supposed to have some effect on the transcendental punishments. Pences had a transcendental effect; they were done for the remission of sins and were the prerequisite for this remission of sins. Thus, if the pope declared that the crusaders did something that equalled their penance and proved their conversion, then their deeds would also have a transcendental effect.

We may say with Riley-Smith that this declaration by Pope Urban did not constitute a “spiritual privilege” (in his definition of the term), in the sense that the pope was only declaring that the act the crusaders were about to perform was going to be so severe that it would be satisfactory for all their sins in the sight of God.<sup>84</sup> He was not granting them a merciful relief on behalf of the Church, or promising that the Church would pay some of their debts of punishment for them. The emphasis was not on the powers of the Church, but on the efforts of the crusaders. In an age when the theology of penances emphasized the subjective penitential acts, it was, moreover, not unnatural that the papal declaration would concentrate on these and not on the powers of the Church. On the other hand, Urban’s theology was not necessarily “old-fashioned” or caught up in an old view on the efficacy of penance.<sup>85</sup> It may well have been in line with the newer trends that regarded the performance of penances first of all as signs of the inner contrition of the penitent and thus as proof that God’s grace was already working within him.

By the First Crusade the indulgence was not yet an institution. It had not been defined by councils, it had no fixed vocabulary, nor had it been explained by theologians. In the following chapters we will examine the process of institutionalisation of the indulgences. First we will look at the discussion among theologians, and then at the formation of the formula in papal crusading bulls.

### 3.2 The Theology of Indulgences

The earliest comment on indulgences in a theological work that has been handed down to us appears in Peter Abelard’s *Ethica sive Scito te ipsum* from around 1130. By that time, the indulgences had been practised for about 100 years, apparently without any theological discussion or attempts at clarification.

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84 Riley-Smith 2005, pp. 13, 133–4; Riley-Smith 1997a, pp. 68–9. Riley-Smith does not use the term “spiritual privilege” in the same sense as in the rest of the present work, cf. chapter 4.1. below: The crusade indulgence as a privilege.

85 Cf. Riley-Smith 1986, pp. 28–9; Riley-Smith 2002, pp. 60–2.

tion. In fact, it is actually impossible to trace a discussion on them until the 1160s, when they are next mentioned in theological tracts.

This lack of discussion may seem less surprising against the background of the general development of theology in this period, however.<sup>86</sup> The twelfth century was a period of great transformation and growth of learning and education. Both the number of students of theology and the way in which theology was approached changed profoundly within this century. By the end of the eleventh century, the monasteries began to lose their role as the main centres of education, mainly because they followed the ideals of the reform movement and closed their external schools for those who were not members of the orders. This role went first to the cathedral schools of the towns and, from the beginning of the twelfth century, increasingly to the independent schools of individual masters. This meant that studies in theology were separated from the traditional settings in both the monasteries, where they had been practised as *lectio divina* and served mainly devotional ends, and from the education of the cathedral schools, which was primarily aimed at making the pupil able to perform the daily liturgical functions. At the same time, education became a way to make a career in the growing staffs of both ecclesiastical and secular administrations. The demand for knowledge went far beyond the capacities and interests of the traditional schools, and young men of ambition would travel far to attend the lectures of a renowned master. These tended to settle down in larger cathedral towns, where the students began to form large bodies in the urban communities, especially in Paris, which became the leading place for theological studies already by the beginning of the twelfth century.

In the middle of the eleventh century, men with an interest and education in theology that would have made them susceptible to discussing the indulgences or other new problems had been few in numbers and they had been scattered and isolated in very small scholarly environments. By contrast, the urban schools of the latter twelfth century, which by the beginning of the thirteenth century grew into the first universities, were the perfect breeding ground for disputations on complex and hair-splitting theological questions.

The new methods in theology furthered the discussions as well. In these urban schools a scholastic theology was formed, characterised by a systematic and philosophical approach to the problems of theology. Already Anselm of

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86 On this development in general see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (1941; repr. 1983); John W. Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages 1000–1300* (1971); Jean Leclercq, "The Renewal of Theology" in Benson & Constable ed. *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (1982), pp. 68–87; R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (1995).

Canterbury (1033–1109) had formulated the ethos of the movement, when he spoke of “faith seeking understanding” and said “I believe in order that I may understand.” The aim was to understand the doctrines of faith. It no longer seemed satisfactory merely to go on repeating the traditional formulations, which in some cases even appeared contradictory. In the first stages, the movement actually meant a revival of patristic theology, especially of Augustine, and the patristic works remained authorities for the new theologians. They became aware that some of the contradictions between authorities might be solved if the texts were studied carefully, and if the concepts in them were analysed and clarified by using the methods of philosophy and dialectics. One of the first to apply the dialectical method to theology in a systematic way was Peter Abelard (1079–1142), and his methods were adapted by Peter Lombard (1095–1160) in his *Sententiae* (c. 1155), which handed the method over to future generations of theologians who used this work as their standard textbook.

The formation of the scholastic theology also meant the development of a more systematic theology, which aimed at explaining all articles of faith, and at achieving concordance of faith and practise. It became important to find out how, for instance, the sacraments worked for the remission of sins, and also to clarify what a sacrament was, and how many there were.

In short, by the latter part of the twelfth century, an academic environment had emerged in which the problems of penance and indulgences became, so to speak, unavoidable as topics of discussion. In addition, the ruminating manner of scholastic methods meant that when a problem had first been raised by one master in a theological treatise, it was very likely to be repeated by subsequent masters.

### 3.2.1 *Twelfth-century Theology on Penances*

The theology of indulgences was part of the general theology on penances, a topic which was discussed intensively by the scholastic theologians. They included penances among the sacraments, which are the means of God's grace administered by the Church, and it became important to clarify what was the role of the different elements in the process of penance, and which of them caused the actual bestowal of grace and the remission of sins. As we saw in the previous chapter, this had not really been clear in the eleventh century, but the general outlook in this period was probably the same as in patristic theology, that the satisfaction performed by the penitent had a large share in the remission of sins. The fathers had maintained that the penitential exercises led to the forgiveness of sins, but they had also taught that contrition and reconciliation by the Church was indispensable – without stating what the exact relationship between these factors was. The emphasis on contrition by the

twelfth-century theologians (which in itself was a revival of a patristic, Augustinian theology) meant that the satisfaction could not uphold its role.<sup>87</sup> As we have seen, there were also problems with the role of the absolution by the priest. In order to explain the functions of the different elements, and to maintain their effect, certain distinctions were introduced. In the twelfth century, the following two main theories on penance and absolution occurred.

Peter Abelard and his followers emphasized the remission of sins by contrition alone up to the point that they taught that the penitent was reconciled to God, and that his sins were remitted by this contrition alone, even before he went to confession and received the absolution from the Church. The absolution was only a declaration by the Church that the guilt of sin had been remitted by the contrition. However, it was still necessary to do penance according to Abelard, even if it did not contribute directly to the remission of sins. In order to explain why, he introduced a distinction between eternal and temporal punishments. The punishments that were remitted by contrition were the eternal punishments, which meant that the truly repentant sinner, who had been reconciled to God by contrition, would not go to Hell. He would, however, still have to purge himself through the temporal punishments; that is, the penances in this life, or the purgatorial punishments in the next world. Thus, this theory provided an explanation for the necessity of satisfaction, while it vigorously maintained that sins were forgiven by contrition alone. On the other hand, the role of the absolution was reduced to a function of declaration of a fact that had already occurred. For this reason, this theory is called the theory of declaration.<sup>88</sup>

Hugh of St. Victor (1099–1141) and his followers gave the priest and the absolution a larger role, though they also stressed the importance of contrition. According to Hugh, sins caused the soul to be bound by a double chain: the first was the obduracy of the heart, the second was the debt of future punishments. The first chain meant that the sinner was incapable of pulling away from sin, and only when the grace of God inspired him to penitence and contrition could he begin his way to salvation. By this contrition, the guilt of sin was forgiven by God. The sinner was, however, still obliged to go to confession by his priest, who had been given the power to remit the eternal punishments. Thus, the absolution had a real object: the remission of the eternal punishments.<sup>89</sup>

87 Vorgimler p. 149.

88 Vorgimler p. 130, "Die 'deklaratorische Theorie'".

89 Anciaux pp. 186–94; Poschmann 1951, p. 86; Vorgimler p. 131.

In short, the contrition remitted the guilt, while the absolution remitted the punishments. Thus, Hugh gave a function to contrition, confession, and absolution by making a distinction between the guilt of sin and the punishment for sin.<sup>90</sup>

Hugh's theory did not seem satisfactory to, for instance, Peter Lombard, who objected that it could not be appropriate to distinguish so sharply between the forgiveness of guilt and of eternal punishments. In order to save the theory and maintain a real object of the absolution, Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) introduced further distinctions and taught that eternal damnation was forgiven conditionally by God by contrition, but only fully at the absolution by the priest. Furthermore, the eternal punishments were turned into temporal punishments at the absolution by a cooperation of the powers of the priest and God.<sup>91</sup>

Some of the dividing lines between the different schools on penances can be illustrated by the use of the adapted Ezekiel text *Quacumque hora*, which we have met in the two previous chapters. Abelard used it, among other arguments, to prove his point that sins were remitted by contrition alone, even before the sinner went to confession:

according to the Prophet: "In what hour soever the sinner shall sigh, he shall be saved", that is, he will be made worthy of the salvation of his soul. He did not say: in what year or month or in what week or on what day, but in what hour, so as to show that he is worthy of pardon without delay, and that eternal punishment, in which the condemnation of sin consists, is not owing to him.<sup>92</sup>

As noted above, the Ezekiel text (33:12 and 18:21–22) actually does say "day" and not "hour", but there was a long tradition for this adaptation, and the major authority, Augustine, had used it. The discrepancy with the Biblical text seems to have bothered neither Abelard's followers nor his opponents. Both groups quoted the adapted text, some of them even with the additional argument that the prophet said "hour" and not day, week or month.<sup>93</sup> Hugh of St. Victor inter-

90 This distinction between guilt and punishment is also found in Augustine, but he did not use it in his doctrine on penances. It seems that it was in fact Hugh of St. Victor who first utilized it on this subject, cf. Poschmann 1951, p. 86, Vorgrimler p. 131.

91 Poschmann 1951, p. 86; Vorgrimler p. 131.

92 Abelard: *Ethica* c. 19, ed. D.E. Luscombe p. 88/89.

93 Followers of Abelard on this point were Master Herman (cf. Anciaux p. 182); Roland Bandinelli (Anciaux p. 209); Zacharie of Besançon (Anciaux p. 215); Peter Lombard: *Sententiarum* L. IV D. XVII c. 1, PL 192: 880.



preted it differently, and stated that the quotation only testified that penitence opened the way to salvation, that it was the beginning of the recovery, and that the sinner would only be forgiven by contrition alone without confession when he was prevented by death. Apart from such cases of necessity, the obligation to go to confession was absolute, as could be proved by other quotations from Scripture.<sup>94</sup>

The majority of twelfth-century theologians followed the declaratory theory proposed by Peter Abelard, whereas the theory of the Victorines had less success.<sup>95</sup> However, both sets of distinctions, that between eternal and temporal punishments from the Abelardian theory, and that between guilt and punishment from the Victorine theory, proved very successful in later scholastic theology, where they became commonplace. They also became essential to the explanations of the indulgences, which had to deal with the problems of the relation between the performance of penance, the remission by the Church, and the consequences for the punishments in this and in the next world. The distinctions facilitated the analysis of what actually happened to the punishments of a person when he gained an indulgence, and they made it possible to formulate the indulgences as remissions of temporal punishments. The developed theory of the indulgences uses both the distinctions from the Abelardian and the Victorine theory (as can also be observed in the chart above in chapter 1.1). From the outset, however, they belonged to two different theological outlooks, represented by two distinct schools of theologians, and it was only later they were combined by the successors to these schools.

Another important condition for the analysis of the indulgences was the evolution of a more definite concept of Purgatory. While the belief in an intermediate stage between Heaven and Hell, and of a purgation before the admittance into Heaven of souls who were not bad enough to go to Hell, but not entirely good either, had existed since early Christianity, it seems that various beliefs on this matter were worked together into a more coherent system by the scholastic theologians during the twelfth century. The noun *purgatorium* became more frequent and at least by the end of the century, it was used to denote a single, geographical place where the souls were purged of their

94 Anciaux pp. 192–3. Hugh's interpretation of the *Quacumque hora* text was followed by Otto of Lucca (Anciaux p. 195) and by later members of the Victorine school (Anciaux p. 218).

95 Pierre Adnès, "Pénitence" in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* XII (1984) col. 973–4.

remaining temporal punishments.<sup>96</sup> The concept of Purgatory spelled out the idea of God's part of the temporal punishments, and with an evolved concept of these punishments it was easier to define the object and the problem of the indulgences, and whether they remitted all temporal punishment, or penances only. Being relaxations of penances, the indulgences created a theological problem of how to be sure that God agreed to the remission when the sins were not expiated through penitential exercises. In the rest of this chapter we will see how the theologians of the twelfth and early thirteenth century tried to solve these problems.

### 3.2.2 *The Discussion Begins: Peter Abelard*

Peter Abelard opened the discussion on indulgences, only to deliver a harsh criticism of them. His theology had a great impact on later twelfth-century theology,<sup>97</sup> and his thoughts on indulgences, although they were not fully adopted by later theologians, serves to illustrate the difficulties with incorporating the indulgences into early twelfth-century theology, and for this reason they shall be dealt with in some detail here.

In *Ethica* he writes of those who granted indulgences, that they were being unscrupulous and bad shepherds of their flocks:

There are some priests who deceive their subjects less through error than through greed, so that for an offering of denarii they pardon (*condonent*) or relax (*relaxent*) the penalties of an imposed satisfaction, not considering so much the will of the Lord as the power of money.<sup>98</sup>

The object here was the individual relaxations granted by priests, but the general absolutions granted by bishops were also criticised:

And not only priests but even the leaders of priests, the bishops that is, are, we know, so shamelessly ablaze with this greed that when, at dedications of churches or consecrations of altars or blessings of cemeteries or at any solemnities, they have gatherings of people from which they expect a plentiful offering, they are prodigal in relaxing penances

96 The question of the origins and definition of Purgatory is too complicated to be dealt with here, but see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* 1984; Brian P. McGuire, "Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change" in *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 61–84; Auffarth pp. 151–98.

97 See D.E. Luscombe: *The School of Peter Abelard* (1969); J. de Ghellinck: *Le mouvement théologique du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1948), pp. 149–75.

98 Peter Abelard's *Ethics*. An Edition with Introduction, English Translation and Notes by D.E. Luscombe (1971) (hereafter cited as *Ethica*), p. 108/109.

(*relaxandis penitentiis*), remitting (*indulgentes*)<sup>99</sup> to all in common now a third, now a fourth, part of their penance under some pretext of charity of course, but really of the highest cupidity.<sup>100</sup>

The reason for Abelard's harsh criticism of the priests and bishops in this context was that he did not think that the relaxations worked – simply because the Church did not have the authority to remit penances. According to Abelard, every sin had to be atoned for, if the sinner was to be justified and worthy of going to Heaven, and therefore it was necessary that the sinner did his penance. The statements on the indulgences are part of a longer passage on the means of reconciliation of the sinner to God – contrition, confession, satisfaction – and here, Abelard stresses the importance of penance, and warns of the consequences of fixing the penances less than they should be. If, for the reason of greed or ignorance, the priest determines a penance that is too small, it will have consequences for the subject, because:

God, who forgives no sin without punishment and punishes each as much as he should, upholds the fairness of satisfaction according to the amount of the sin, not, that is, by reserving those penitents for eternal torture, but by afflicting them in this life or in the future with purgatorial punishments, if we, I say, have been negligent in our satisfaction.<sup>101</sup>

That means that if people do not perform the sufficient amount of satisfaction through penances, they will only have to suffer other kinds of punishments, either in this life or in the “purgatorial punishments”. They will not go to the eternal punishments in Hell, however, because God in his mercy does not punish people for the errors of their prelates. If the sinner has truly repented in his heart, he will not be eternally damned. God forgives the sinner of the eternal punishments when he repents, but he still has to do satisfaction according to his sin. The “purgatorial punishments” will take place at the Day of Judgement, according to Abelard,<sup>102</sup> and nobody knows how long they will last or how

99 Abelard uses the word “indulgentia” to signify both relaxing of penance and God's forgiveness of eternal damnation, cf. Abelard pp. 90, 98, 110. It is clearly not a fixed, technical term yet.

100 Abelard *Ethica* p. 110/111.

101 Abelard *Ethica* p. 108/109.

102 Abelard *Ethica* p. 88/89. That the purgatorial punishments are supposed to happen at the Day of Judgement, as well as the fact that the term Abelard uses to denote Purgatory, “*penis purgatoriis*”, is not a noun but an adjective, fits into the theory put forward by Jacques Le Goff (1981/1984) that the idea of Purgatory as a single, geographical place where people destined for Heaven were put immediately after their death, was only

hard they will be. The only thing certain is that the punishments in the future will be harder than those imposed in penance, and Abelard is quoting Augustine, or rather Pseudo-Augustine, as an authority for this: "The penalties of the future life, although they are purgatorial, are graver than all these of the present life."<sup>103</sup> If penances are less than they should be, or if they are shortened by bishops granting indulgences, it will only mean that people will have to perform even harder punishments later on. For people, then, the consequences of indulgences are severe.

The bishops, however, claimed that their authority to grant general absolutions or indulgences derived from their apostolic power to bind and to loose. According to Abelard they extolled themselves of this power and claimed that the testimonies in John 20:23 and Matthew 16:19 meant that "the heavens ... had been put in their hands".<sup>104</sup> This was not what these texts meant according to Abelard, and his exposition is concluded by an interpretation and criticism of the power of the keys. He asks the question whether every bishop had inherited the power to bind and to loose from the apostles, even the unreligious or indiscrete bishops. Would God confirm the sentences of a bishop if he increased or relaxed the punishment of sin "unwisely or beyond measure", and allow a sinner to be punished more or less than he ought to be? Abelard did not find that this could be the case, and thus it seemed to him that the power to bind and to loose had not been given to every bishop.<sup>105</sup> He quotes Jerome, Origen, and Gregory the Great as authorities for the opinion that it is not the bishop or priest who binds or looses, but God, and that the function of the priest is to examine the sinner and recognize the signs of whether he is bound or loosed. Only if his decision was based on his ability to discern who had true

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slowly evolving during the twelfth century. The thesis has received criticism, however, see notes 71 and 96 above.

103 Abelard *Ethica* p. 108/109. The sentence has a parallel in *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, c. 18, PL 40: 1128; "Hic autem ignis etsi aeternus non fuerit, miro tamen modo est gravis; excellit enim omnem poenam quam unquam passus est aliquis in hac vita." According to Müller (p. 293, n.) and Hödl (p. 161), this is not a matter of direct borrowing, but of mutual sources in pseudo-Augustinian sentences, current at the time. Hödl, however, finds many other affinities between *Ethica* and *De vera*.

104 Abelard *Ethica* p. 110/111. The statement that the bishops claimed this is very interesting, because, as we will see below in chapter 4.2.4, the popes were in fact referring to their apostolic keys to bind and to loose as the "warrant" of the effect of the indulgences while the bishops in this early period usually did not refer to the apostles, because they wanted to show that their power derived from God directly and not through the pope. See chapter 4, note 206.

105 Abelard *Ethica* p. 112/113.

contrition, would God confirm his decision. Abelard's solution is to make a distinction between the power of excommunication and the power of discretion. He admits that all bishops may be said to have the power of the keys in respect to the excommunication – that is, that they have the keys to the Church – but Abelard still maintains that if someone is bound unjustly in excommunication, God will loose him. However, not every bishop has the discretion or power to distinguish whom to bind and whom to solve in penance – only those bishops who were also followers of the apostles with regard to virtue had inherited this power.<sup>106</sup>

At first, Abelard's insistence that God did not forgive sin without satisfaction might seem surprising, as he is generally regarded as a chief proponent of a new, interiorised view of sin and redemption in the twelfth century. In the history of theology, he is also famous for his rejection of Anselm of Canterbury's theory of the Incarnation and the Redemption, known as the theory of satisfaction. Anselm had argued that the reason why God became man and died on the cross was that in order to reconcile God and man after the Fall, satisfaction had to be paid to God for the loss he had incurred when man turned away from God and chose sin. Man had offended the honour of God, and in order to restore this honour and the right order of the world, man had to pay back God what he had taken away from him. But since all men were sinful, no man was able to do just that. Therefore, God became man in Christ, the God-man, who was without sin, and who was obedient to God even unto death.<sup>107</sup>

Anselm's theory was, in turn, a criticism of an older and traditional view which held that the point of the death of Christ was to pay ransom to the Devil.<sup>108</sup> According to this traditional theory, the Devil had gained rights over man at the Fall, when man chose to follow the Devil instead of God, and therefore he rightfully punished man and held him captive in sin. These rights were lost, however, when the Devil tried to punish Christ, who was without sin. The point of the incarnation and crucifixion of Christ then, was to lure the Devil into accepting a proper ransom and put an end to his rights over man. Anselm, however, found it appalling to say that the Devil could have any rights with re-

106 Abelard *Ethica* pp. 114–27.

107 Anselm, *Cur Deus homo* in *Opera omnia* tom. 1 vol. 11, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt (1968), I c. 11–5, II c. 6; ed. cit. pp. 68–74, 101.

108 Elements of this traditional *Redemptionstheorie* were formulated already by Augustine, but they were amalgamated with popular beliefs and given authorization by Gregory I; cf. C. Andresen, "Erlösung IV. Dogmengeschichtlich" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2 (1958), pp. 590–4.

gard to God, or that God had to pay him anything in order not to violate his rights. When Scripture testify that Christ came to “give his life as ransom for many”,<sup>109</sup> the meaning, according to Anselm, was that he paid this ransom not to the Devil but to God.<sup>110</sup>

Abelard rejected both these theories, and in his view the point of the incarnation and redemption was not to pay back for sin, or to provide satisfaction to God in order to keep up justice.<sup>111</sup> The point was to restore man’s love of God by showing him how much God loved man. God was not the object of the reconciliation – it was not he who needed to be reconciled, but man. God had already forgiven man, and the incarnation and passion of Christ was an act of grace. The reason why God became man and lived and died as a man was that he wanted to show man how much he loved him, and thereby arouse man’s love of God:

Now it seems to us that we have been justified by the blood of Christ and reconciled to God in this way: through this unique act of grace manifested to us – in that his Son has taken upon himself our nature and persevered therein in teaching us by word and example even unto death – he has more fully bound us to himself by love; with the result that our hearts should be enkindled by such a gift of divine grace, and true charity should not now shrink from enduring anything for him.<sup>112</sup>

With the life and death of Christ, man was given an example of true charity, an example to imitate, and when man has true charity of God, he is justified. This is an interiorised view of the redemption: the important part is what happens inside man when his *dilectio* is turned to God.

It must be noted, however, that this turning to God is not something that man can do by his own powers. Only when God bestows his grace upon the sinner and inspires him, can he leave sin behind and turn to God. Conversion and salvation is an act of God’s love and grace, not of man’s own doing.<sup>113</sup>

109 Matt. 20: 28, cf. 1 Tim. 2: 6; Tit. 2: 14; 1 Pet. 1: 18.

110 Anselm, *Cur Deus homo* I c. 7, 13, 19, II c. 18–9; ed. cit. pp. 55–9, 71, 84–6, 126–31.

111 Abelard, “Commentarios in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos” in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* I, ed. E.M. Buytaert (1969), pp. 113–8.

112 Abelard, *Commentarios in Rom.* p. 117. Translation in Eugene R. Fairweather: *A Scholastic Miscellany* (1970), p. 283.

113 Abelard was accused of Pelagianism by William of St. Thierry, see his *Disputatio adversus Petrum Abeldardum* in PL 180: 249–82. This charge was accepted by older scholarship, but more recent scholarship has cleared Abelard of this heresy; see for instance Åge

Abelard's view on penance and on how sins are forgiven is consistent with this theology. The sinner is forgiven by God by the contrition he feels in his heart already before he goes to confession and receives absolution from his priest. The contrition, however, is a gift of God's grace.<sup>114</sup> Thus, the repentance shown by the sinner is a sign that he is already forgiven by God and worthy of the absolution. It is the task of the priest to recognize these signs. Though the repentant sinner is already forgiven, he nevertheless still has to do penance, because what are forgiven are the eternal, damnatory punishments in Hell, not the temporal, purgatorial punishments. The reason why the sinner has to do penance is neither that he needs to appease God, for God has already forgiven him, nor that the sinner has to do satisfaction to God in order to keep up the norms of justice. The reason lies within the sinner himself: it is the sinner who has to turn to God and to reconcile himself to God, and penance is meant to help him in this process. Abelard describes penance as a medicine that heals the wounds of the soul, *plagam animae curationis remedium*, and the priests as the doctors who distribute this medicine.<sup>115</sup> The role of the priest in the process of justification is to administer penance.

Thus, Abelard explained the functions of all the elements of penance in a way that is consistent with the doctrines that man cannot save himself, and that grace is free.

The distinction between eternal and temporal punishments, which was carved out by Abelard, was adopted by later theologians, and it formed the basis for the later theory of indulgences. Actually, it became indispensable for the definition of indulgences and for the explanation of their function: that indulgences remit the temporal punishments due for sins, after the eternal punishments have been forgiven by the absolution. Thus it seems ironic that the man who first formulated this distinction was also a fierce opponent of indulgences.

Even though Peter Abelard thus denied the use of indulgences and the very basis of their existence, he nevertheless "opened the field", and the points he discussed are an indicator also of the problems discussed by theologians from the 1160s onward. Both his ideas and his methods had a great influence on later scholastic theology even if he was met by opposition in his own day and was

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Rydstrøm-Poulsen, *The Gracious God. Gratia in Augustine and the Twelfth Century* (2002), pp. 157–85.

114 Abelard, *Ethica* pp. 88/89.

115 Abelard, *Ethica* pp. 76, 104–6.

twice summoned to a trial for heretical teachings.<sup>116</sup> Some of the views referred to above were affected by the condemnation in 1140 of 19 propositions, which were allegedly extracted from Abelard's writings, including the limitations on the power of the keys.<sup>117</sup> These particular views were not repeated by those theologians who took up the debate on indulgences. Nor did these theologians deny that the indulgences were possible, but most of those of the twelfth century show some concern or reservation in this respect, and some of them actually came very close to rejecting the indulgences and advised against the use of them.

The reason for Abelard's denial of the indulgences was that he did not believe that they worked. The bishops could not relax penances because penances were necessary in the process of the reconciliation of the sinner to God, and because the bishops did not have the authority to remit punishments in the sight of God. Abelard quite simply opposed the use of indulgences, because he did not believe that they had a *transcendental effect*; the penances that were remitted would only be transferred to the purgatorial punishments.

Explaining the transcendental effect was the central problem for the later theologians. The problems these theologians had were, in fact, very much the same as those of Peter Abelard. They too believed that penances were essential to the process of justification, and that they could not be easily dispensed with, but they nevertheless took it upon themselves to explain how penances could be remitted with a transcendental effect. Another problem was the emphasis on the need for contrition and the right disposition of the penitent, which also seemed endangered by the use of indulgences. A third problem was that of the role and powers of the priests and bishops in the forgiveness of sins, and of the power of the keys, and whether this was enough to ensure that the punishments were also forgiven by God.

Despite all these difficulties, the theologians of the latter part of the twelfth century and early part of the thirteenth century saw it as their task to provide an explanation of how indulgences were, after all, compatible with both satisfaction and contrition, and how the indulgences worked. As good scholastics, they tried to understand what they already believed, and to underpin their faith with reason in arguments that were consistent with the time-honoured

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116 In Soissons in 1121 and in Sens 1140, see Leif Grane, *Peter Abelard* (1970), pp. 76, 137–49; D.E. Luscombe 1969, pp. 103ff.

117 “Quod potestas ligandi atque solvendi Apostolis tantum data sit, non successoribus.” in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, ed. 21–3 (1937), p. 180. Abelard maintained that the 19 propositions had never appeared in his own works, cf. his *Apologia contra Bernardum*, in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* 1, ed. Buytaert (1969), pp. 359–68.



practices of the Church. However, the transcendental effect remained a problem until the 1230s when the theory of the treasury of merits emerged.

### 3.2.3 *The Theology of Indulgences Until c. 1230*

The theology of indulgences of the early scholastics was surveyed thoroughly by Nikolaus Paulus (1922), who noted the fact that neither Peter Lombard nor Gratian treated the indulgences in their major reference works written around the middle of the twelfth century.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, the comments on indulgences of later theologians and canonists often appear in commentaries on Lombard and Gratian. The theologians used as a point of departure the distinction XX of the fourth book of Lombard's *Sententiae*, which deals with problems arising from penances which are not completed, or which have been set too small.<sup>119</sup> The comments of the canonists are to Gratian C. 9 q. 3 c. 13, that the pope cannot be judged by anyone, and to D. I de pen. c. 88, on the part of confession and shame in the remission of sins. The lack of discussion in Gratian and Lombard might be an indication that indulgences were not yet very common. Bernhard Poschmann saw it as an indication that they were not regarded as an essentially new phenomenon that needed special theological explanation.<sup>120</sup> The reason may also have been, of course, that Peter Lombard and Gratian were not in favour of the use of indulgences and were somewhat at a loss with them.

From the 1160s onward, however, it suddenly seems that all the great theologians had something to say about indulgences, and they became a common topic in theological *summae* and in commentaries on Lombard and Gratian. One of the first to mention the indulgences in this period appears to be the Paris master, Simon of Tournai (c. 1130 – c. 1201), in his *Institutiones theologiae*, written between 1160 and 1170.<sup>121</sup> Simon mentions the indulgences granted at the consecration of churches and for pilgrimages, and states that it is not possible to add three indulgences of one third of the penance together and thus

118 The survey by Paulus is in vol. I pp. 212–52. Earlier Fr. Gillmann had collected a number of texts on indulgences: “Zur Ablasslehre der Frühscholastic” in *Katolik* 1 (1913), pp. 365–76 and *Katolik* 2 (1915), pp. 465–74. Also Poschmann discussed it thoroughly, 1948, pp. 69–82. Valuable additional material has been uncovered by Hödl 1960, *passim*.

119 PL 192: 892–5.

120 Cf. Poschmann 1948, p. 69: “Weder die Victoriner noch Petrus Lombardus erwähnen den Ablass in ihren Werken. Sie sahen in ihm offenbar nichts wesentlich Neues, das einer besonderen theologischen Begründung bedurfte.”

121 Simon of Tournai is not mentioned by Paulus, but his statements on the indulgences are treated by Hödl p. 230. The date of the work is uncertain, and considering the sources for it Hödl states that it must have been written between 1160 and 1170 (p. 224).

have all one's penance remitted; each of the three indulgences will only count for one-third of what is left of the penance.<sup>122</sup> He does not go into the theological problems of how the penance is remitted, however, and the first attempts to discuss the problems of the indulgences seem to be in the *Sententiarum libri quinque* (c. 1168/76) by Peter of Poitiers and the *Summa de sacramentis* (1192–97) by Peter the Chanter, both teachers at the Cathedral school in Paris.

Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) followed the teachings of Peter Abelard on penances, and he had the same problems with the indulgences as Abelard. He dealt with the indulgences briefly in a chapter on what God and the priest forgive in confession.<sup>123</sup> Sins were forgiven by God both in respect to the guilt of sin and to the eternal punishment. The priest only declared that the sins had been forgiven.<sup>124</sup> How could it then be said that the priest forgives sins, and what was the power of the keys? Peter analyses the functions of the keys in a way not unlike Abelard's, and concludes that the priest can be said to forgive sins in three ways: by declaring the remission by God; by enjoining and relaxing penances; and by excommunicating and readmitting people to the sacraments.<sup>125</sup> This does not mean, however, that the keys give the priest full jurisdiction over the realm of penances. The priest enjoins the satisfaction in order that the temporal punishments may be forgiven.<sup>126</sup> The satisfaction has to be sufficient to wipe out the sin; if it is not, it will only mean that the rest will have to be endured in Purgatory. Therefore, it is better that the penance is too large than too small.<sup>127</sup>

For this reason – that the relaxed penances will only be transferred to Purgatory – Peter of Poitiers must also question the effect of indulgences. He mentions the indulgences granted by bishops at the consecration of churches, and states that these general remissions cannot be of equal worth to everybody, even if the indulgences are advertised as remitting, e.g. one-third or 40 days of

122 *Institutiones theologiae* quoted from a manuscript in Hödl, p. 230.

123 Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiarum libri quinque*, lib. III, c. 16, printed in PL 211: 1073–8.

124 “Sacerdos autem peccatum non solvit, nec quantum ad poenam, nec quantum ad reatum, sed solvit et dimittit, id est ostendit esse solutum et dimissum a Deo quantum ad reatum.” PL 211: 1073.

125 PL 211: 1075. This sums up the teaching of Peter Abelard and of Peter Lombard, cf. *Sententiarum libri quatuor*, IV dist. XVII–XIX, in PL 192: 880–92.

126 PL 211: 1073.

127 “Cum autem dictum sit quod sacerdos solvit aliquem injungendo ei satisfactionem, vel aliquid relaxando de poena, sciendum tamen est quod si non iungat poenitenti tantam satisfactionem quae sufficiat ad delendum peccatum, illud quantum ad poenam (jam enim dimissum est a Deo quoad reatum) punietur in purgatorio, et quod minus hic agitur, ibi supplebitur. Ideo melius ut poenitens supereroget, quam minus agat ...” PL 211: 1076.

penance for everybody who comes to the consecration and spends alms. For it cannot be that a rich man, who spends only one small coin, will have the same remission as a poor widow who spends the same amount.<sup>128</sup> God reckons not the amount, but the will to give, and the rich man who does not spend all that he can does not have a good will.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, the rich man who does not spend according to his means will not get his punishments remitted before God. According to Poschmann, this means that Peter of Poitiers actually denied that the indulgences worked, on the same grounds as Peter Abelard, and that he only stated his opinion in a less temperamental way.<sup>130</sup> Another possible interpretation is that Peter of Poitiers meant to say that remissions of penances could not be granted generally with equal worth for all recipients, and that their effect depended on the inner disposition and on the *Ablasswerk* of the individual. This is an opinion that we meet in other twelfth-century theologians. The bishops cannot make general diminishments of temporal punishments, and these will only wait in Purgatory if the penances have not been sufficient. But the work the penitent performs in order to gain the indulgence will reduce the temporal punishments for him, and so will his contrition if it is strong enough.<sup>131</sup> This means that, according to Peter of Poitiers, the effect of the indulgences does not rest on the judicial powers of the bishops, but on the good will and the *Ablasswerk* of the penitent. Thus, Poschmann is probably right when he states that for Peter of Poitiers the *Ablasswerk* has a transcendental effect but not the indulgence as such, i.e. not the decision by the bishop.<sup>132</sup> Even if Peter of Poitiers thus did not deny the effect of the indulgences altogether, his reservations with regard to the general remissions would still

128 "Item, cum sacerdos sive sit episcopus sive non, possit aliquid de poena subtrahere, sciendum est quod si episcopus vel alius praelatus indicat et publicet se in dedicatione alicujus eccelsiae dimissurum tertiam, vel quartam partem poenitentiae, vel quadraginta dies, vel aliquid tale omnibus illis qui ad fabricam illius ecclesiae contulerint eleemosynas suas, non ideo quicunque suam ibi attulerit eleemosynam, promissam consecutus est veniam: si enim dives aliquis det tantum nummum vel obulum, sicut vetula pauperrima, credit tantum dimissum esse? absit!" PL 211: 1076.

129 "Deus enim non quaerit ab homine quod non potest; non considerat quantum detur, sed ex quanto, id est ex qua voluntate. Si enim bonam voluntatem habet dives quare non adimplet voluntatem cum bona sit? quare non dat secundum posse sum? Hoc enim exigit bona voluntas; aliter enim bona non est, nec est etiam voluntas dandi, vel veniam consequendi." PL 211: 1076.

130 Poschmann 1948, p. 71. Paulus on the other hand found that Peter of Poitiers did accept the indulgences (I p. 214).

131 PL 211: 1057.

132 Poschmann 1948, p. 71, n. 348.

have made it impossible to administer indulgences the way they were usually practiced.

Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) seems to have felt uneasy about the indulgences for the same reasons as Peter of Poitiers, but he nevertheless tried to find positive arguments for them.<sup>133</sup> In *Summa de sacramentis*, he lists the theological difficulties but then goes on to say that as it is always easier to raise problems than to find solutions to something he will, timidly and confused, approach a solution on the grounds that the Church has given authority to the indulgences by using them. The Chanter clearly states that his reason for accepting the indulgences was the authority of the Church, since the authority that is granted to something by the *consuetudo ecclesiae*, the customary practise of the Church, is no negligible authority – even though it does not have a greater weight than reason or Holy Scripture, he adds.<sup>134</sup> The indulgences should therefore be accepted when three conditions are present at the same time, “namely the authority of the Church, the communion of the *suffragia* of the Church, and the labour and devotion of penance.”<sup>135</sup> The first condition means that the indulgences should be issued by the Church, who is the administrator of penances. The second condition refers to the belief that penitents might be helped in their satisfaction by other members of the Church, who performed good works; these good works could be counted in favour of penitents, who could not perform the whole penance themselves. This stock of helping good works was the *suffragia* of the Church. The third condition refers to the labour and devotion performed by the penitent himself.

This means that indulgences were basically conceived as commutations of penance by Peter the Chanter. They only worked if the penance was properly compensated by some other works of satisfaction, even if these did not have to be fully performed by the penitent himself.

Peter the Chanter also mentioned the indulgences briefly in his *Summa Abel*, where he listed four conditions for their validity:<sup>136</sup> 1) The necessity of a

<sup>133</sup> Poschmann 1948, p. 71.

<sup>134</sup> “Quia vero facilius est solvere quam sanare, opponere quam solvere: unde omnes fere solutiones argumenti, oppositiones sunt, tremuli & trepidi ad solutionem praedictorum qualemcumque accedentes dicimus, non rationibus nisi in paucis, sed auctoritate Ecclesiae probantes. Consuetudo enim Ecclesiae, & usus non levis est auctoritas, verum non adeo momento sui valitura, ut aut rationem, aut sacram scripturam vincat.” Printed in Morinus p. 769. Cf. also Paulus I p. 215f.

<sup>135</sup> “Demus ergo hanc remissionem & corpori & animae conferre cum haec tria concurrerunt, scilicet auctoritas Ecclesiae, communio suffragiorum eius, labor & devotio Paenitentis.” Morinus pp. 769–70.

<sup>136</sup> Edited in Gillmann 1913, pp. 366–7.

place, a person, or the Holy Land. 2) Equal compensation, meaning that if the penitent was not capable of fasting, he could give alms instead, according to his means. 3) Permission from the priest who had enjoined the penance. 4) That charity, contrition, and devotion was augmented. If one of these conditions failed, the indulgence could not be granted or the relaxation did not work.<sup>137</sup> In this list, the *suffragia* of the Church does not appear and the compensation of the penance has to be provided by the penitent himself, a fact which enhances the character of commutation even further.

This list was repeated again and again by the theologians of this period, who discussed it and added further points.<sup>138</sup> One generation after Peter the Chanter, another teacher at Paris, William of Auxerre (d. 1231), made a list of six conditions in his *Summa aurea*, written about 1222–25.<sup>139</sup> To the question of whether the indulgences were worth just as much as the Church promised they were, he answered affirmatively, but on the conditions of: 1) The power to bind and to loose, meaning that the issuer had to be the recipient's own bishop. 2) The necessity of the place that received the alms and of the recipient of the indulgence – that he was not able to perform the prescribed penance. 3) The recipient had to believe in the power of the Church to grant indulgences. 4) He had to be in the state of contrition. 5) He had to ask himself how much he would have been willing to give in order to be let off doing his penance. 6) He had to try to compensate for the indulgence in some way.<sup>140</sup>

137 “Relaxatio fit: – Necessitate loci vel persone vel ad succurendam terram sanctam, ut Iherosolimitanam. – Equa reconpensatione, ut si quis non potest ieunare, pauperem reficiat, ita tamen, quod tantum gravet eum dare ut ieunare. Prodigus enim vel dives mallet multum dare quam ieunare, sicut avarus econverso. – Quando penitenti accipienti penitentiam conceditur licencia ab illo, a quo iniungitur penitentia. – Quomodo caritas, contritio, devocio augmentatur, et nisi aliquis istorum modorum intervenerit, non fit relaxatio.” Ed. Gillmann 1913, p. 366. The Chanter added that some granted relaxations of one third or a fourth of the penances “auctoritate dei et beate Marie et omnium sanctorum et nostra ei relaxamus”, but that he preferred that relaxations were measured in days instead.

138 Cf. Hödl p. 338.

139 Hödl p. 366.

140 “Primum est potestas ligandi et solvendi, scilicet ut absolvatur ille qui absolvitur a prelato suo vel ab alio de precepto prelati sui. Secundum est necessitas loci et illius cui fit relaxatio. Necessitas loci per se patet. Necessitas cui datur relaxatio, quando non potest ieunare propter egritudinem, vel propter debilitatem iniunctas penitentias facere. Tertium est devocio fidei, ut scilicet credat ille cui fit relaxatio ecclesiam talem potestatem habere. Quartum est status illius cui datur: ut scilicet ille cui fit relaxatio sit in statu contritionis. Oportet enim quod habeat caritatem. Aliter enim non prodest ei relaxatio. Quintum est discretio ut scilicet discernat apud se pro quanto vellet exonerari, vel quantum

Such lists reflect the problems the theologians of this period were discussing and were concerned about with regard to the indulgences. For our purposes the problems might be divided into three groups:

- 1) Questions about the recipient
- 2) Questions about the proper compensation for penance
- 3) Questions about the issuer

#### 1) The Recipient of Indulgences

One of the primary reasons for the reservations of the theologians seems to have been a concern that those who received the indulgences might not have the right disposition, and might take their sin too lightly when they were thus let off doing a substantial part of their penance. The penitence and remorse felt by the penitent was believed to be essential to the process of justification, and it was important to make sure that these feelings were not severed. This was pointed out by Stephen Langton (c. 1150–1228), who stated that indulgences should not be granted to people who had not yet performed any part of their enjoined penances, because they would not have true penitence. If they had performed less than half, it would still not be safe to give them an indulgence. People who had performed more than half of their penance could be granted indulgences under due consideration of their personal conditions; thus, a father of a family, or a poor or weak person, or a man whose duties were especially needed by the state or the Church, could be given a larger indulgence than other people.<sup>141</sup>

Several of the early commentators on indulgences were of the opinion that it would be better to grant indulgences individually, because then the personal situation and the performance of the penitent could be considered carefully. As noted above, Peter the Chanter stated as a condition for the indulgence that the confessor had given his permission to the relaxation, and this should probably also be interpreted along these lines; that only the confessor would know

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vellet dedisse ut absolutus esset a tanta penitentia. Sextum est iusta estimatio ut secundum quod ei dimittitur ipse recompenset." Guillermo Altissiodorensi: *Summa aurea* IV, ed. J. Ribaillier (1985) pp. 351.

141 "Considerari autem oportet, an penitens de penitencia iniuncta egerit aliquid vel nihil, parum, aut multum. Quodsi nihil, penitens fictus est et non verus nec est ei aliquid relaxandum. Quodsi parum aut citra mediam partem, nec sic tutum est ei aliquid relaxare. Quodsi plus quam mediam partem explevit, consideranda est qualitas persone in relaxando. Plus enim expedit uni quam alii relaxari, puta, si penitens est uxoratus et habet cara pignora domi vel si est egrotativus et debilis complexionis vel si multum necessarius patrie sue vel ecclesie. Quod si minus, minus est exonerandus." Edited in Gillmann 1913, p. 374.

the situation and the disposition of the penitent. In *Summa de sacramentis*, the Chanter seems to be somewhat at loss with the general relaxations, and he states that individual relaxations are more recommendable than the general ones.<sup>142</sup> The relaxations were well known from the practice of the individual taxations and relaxations given by the priests in confession, and some theologians seem to have thought that that was where they belonged. This is the opinion of an anonymous question, *De relaxationibus*, influenced by Peter the Chanter. The anonymous author is even stating that the general relaxations did not work: just as penances could not be enjoined generally without knowledge of the individual sins by either bishops nor priests, so penances could not be relaxed generally without confession and knowledge of the satisfaction already performed, either. Therefore, not even the popes could enjoin general relaxations.<sup>143</sup> The author did not imply, however, that indulgences should be abrogated altogether. His opinion was that indulgences could not be enjoined generally with equal worth for every recipient, because the effect always depended on the contrition of the individual recipient.

That contrition was a necessary condition for gaining an indulgence was a matter of course. As we saw, it was mentioned among the conditions by both Peter the Chanter and William of Auxerre. Simon of Tournai wrote that a contrite and humble heart was a prerequisite for the effect of the indulgences, and this was repeated by Radulphus Ardens (d. 1190s), who copied Simon's statements on the indulgences.<sup>144</sup>

Contrition was also a sign that the penitent was in the state of grace and charity, and that he had been forgiven by God, i.e. that his eternal punishments had been forgiven and that only the temporal punishments, those which the indulgence could relax, remained. William of Auvergne (d. 1249) stated that indulgences only worked for those who were in the state of grace.<sup>145</sup> Charity was mentioned along with contrition among the conditions set up by Peter the

142 "Personales relaxationes ex causa debita commendabiles sunt; generales non ita, eo quod indistincte pronuntiantur." Edited in Morinus p. 769. Cf. also Poschmann 1948, p. 71.

143 "sicut episcopus vel sacerdos non potest iniungere satisfactionem nisi cognito peccato, ita non potest relaxare peccatum nisi cognito per confessionem et cognita satisfactione debita peccato. Ergo non possunt pontifices facere generales relaxationes utpote tertiae vel quartae partis, cum in tali relaxatione indiscrete relaxaretur, quia plus uni quam alteri tamen pro pari culpa, eo quod est maior tertia unius quam tertia alterius." Anonymous question *De relaxationibus* edited in Hödl pp. 339–42, here p. 340 l. 58ff.

144 Hödl pp. 230, 240–6. The texts are cited from manuscripts in Hödl p. 240.

145 "Solus indulgentias huiusmodi percipere, qui mundi sunt, & immunes a mortalibus peccatis." Guilielmi Alverni episcopi Parisiensis: *Opera omnia*, vol. 1 p. 550. Cf. Paulus p. 238, Poschmann p. 80

Chanter, *caritas, contritio, devocio*. The anonymous question mentioned above, *De relaxationibus*, explains these conditions and remarks on the importance of charity and contrition:

The relaxations of the bishops are valid for those who have a larger charity than when they confessed, because an increased charity can diminish satisfaction. They are also valid for those who have the same contrition as when they confessed, if they are assisted by the authority of the Church or the need of him to whom the relaxation is made, so that it [the penance] might be commuted into alms if he is unable to fast.<sup>146</sup>

That a great amount of charity and contrition could substitute for satisfaction, and that the effect of the indulgence depended on the charity and contrition of the individual, was repeated later in the same work.<sup>147</sup> That contrition can substitute and compensate for satisfaction was also expressed by Gerald of Cambrai.<sup>148</sup>

Contrition and indulgences did also pose an inherent paradox, however, because true contrition was supposed to lead the penitent to do penance and not to try to get it remitted in an indulgence. Alain of Lille (d. 1202) addressed this problem and stated that if the recipient did not have charity, he would not be relaxed by the bishop, but if he did have charity, this would make him ready to endure not only the penance he had been enjoined, but even a much larger penance.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, indulgences were reserved for remitting only those penances which the penitent was prevented from performing in this life, by either infirmity or death. Alain seems to have taken up a separate attitude, in that he took the consequence and claimed that indulgences only affected the

146 "Relaxationes ergo episcoporum valent hiis, qui habent maiorem caritatem, quam cum confiteantur, quia quantum aucta est caritas potest minui satisfactio. Valent etiam hiis qui habent tantam contritionem, quantam cum confiterentur, si assit auctoritas ecclesiae vel necessitas eius cui fit relaxatio, ut si non potest ieiunare commutetur in elemosinam." Edited in Hödl p. 339.

147 "Sic ergo hoc videtur, quod quanto plus videtur conteri, tanto plus potest relaxare. Et haec probatio facit, quod teneant istae relaxationes quantum ad Deum." Edited in Hödl p. 341.

148 Cited in Paulus p. 228 n. 4.

149 "Si charitatem non habet, nihil ei ab episcopo relaxatur: Si vero charitatem habet, aut sit in charitate, hoc dictat ei charitas, ut perficiat poenitentiam sibi injunctam, nec seipsum palpet, corporalem declinans poenam, quin injunctam sibi poenitentiam peraget, si potest. Quia ipsa charitas reddit hominem paratum, ut non solum illam, verum etiam maiorem compleat, si ei injungeretur." Alain of Lille, *De fide catholica contra haereticos libri quator*, II c. xi in PL 210: 387–8.



punishments in Purgatory and did not in any way revoke the duty to do penance in this life.<sup>150</sup>

## 2) Proper Compensation

Another major cause for concern was the question of penances and of how to compensate for the part that was remitted. The works of the penitent were believed to be essential to the process of justification both with regard to expiation of the committed offence, and with regard to enhancing the charity and contrition of the penitent. Practically all the theologians use the metaphor that penance is a medicine for the soul,<sup>151</sup> and they had to explain how it was possible to dispense from this medicine, and also how to make sure that the punishments were not transferred to Purgatory.

Several leading theologians of this period inserted in their discussion and justification of the indulgences the admonitory remark that it was still better and safer to do one's penance, even if one had received an indulgence. Peter the Chanter quoted Pope Gregory IV for saying at the consecration of a church in Benevent that, "It is safer to do penance than that I remit a third or some other part of it for you."<sup>152</sup> No doubt, this was an expression of the Chanter's own view, but he does not expound it further in the text. Robert of Courson (d. 1219), a student of Peter's, thought like his master that it was safer to do the penance, and refers to the Chanter when he explains that the reason was that it could not be known for certain how much of the temporal punishments were actually remitted before God.<sup>153</sup> William of Auvergne, who (as we saw)

150 "Talis, si implet illud, pro quo facta est relaxatio ab episcopo, non relaxandae poenae intentione, sed ex charitatis fervore, et decedit ante peractam poenitentiam, remittetur ei tantum de poena purgatoria, quantum in praesenti saeculo ei relaxavit episcopus." PL 210: 388. Cf. Poschmann 1948, pp. 74–5, Paulus I pp. 222–4, Hödl pp. 238–9.

151 On penance and contrition as a medicine against sin cf. e.g. Peter of Poitiers, PL 221: 1056, 1064; Alain of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*, ed. Jean Longère (1965), II, pp. 45, 170. The metaphor goes back to the church fathers and was used extensively by the penitentials, cf. McNeill & Gamer pp. 44–6, and Anciaux pp. 144 n.1, 43. Also Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita Christiana* p. 277, Peter Abelard, *Ethica* pp. 76, 104–6.

152 "Gregorius 4. in dedicatione Ecclesiae a se Beneventi constructae ait populo ea dedicata: Tutius est ut agatis Poenitentiam, quam vel tertiam partem, vel aliquotam vobis remittam." in Morinus p. 769. Morinus inserts that Peter the Chanter must have meant Gregory VIII instead. Paulus agrees, but adds that Peter is then passing on a false rumour as Gregory VIII was never in Benevent during his very short pontificate in 1187 (1 p. 215).

153 Cf. Hödl p. 323. A part of Robert of Courson's *Summa*, the *De poenitentia* has been edited in V.L. Kennedy, *Robert Courson on Penance* in *Medieval Studies* 7 (1945), here, see pp. 328–9.

stated that indulgences were only valid if the penitent was in the state of grace, explains that this made the actual effect of the indulgence a little uncertain:

But no one is certain that he is safe against and unblemished by them [the deadly sins] and therefore no one is certain that he gains the indulgence in this way; but on the contrary it is certain that every body owes to do his enjoined penance, or any penance that will be assigned; therefore it is certain that no one should abstain from doing penance because of this kind of indulgences in order not to expose himself to danger and incur the immense torments of purgatorial fire by neglecting to do his penance, which, however severe it might be, is still extremely light when compared to the torments of that fire. And on these grounds we do not promise these indulgences certainly or precisely, but on the condition that they [the recipients] are safe and unblemished from mortal sins.<sup>154</sup>

His namesake, William of Auxerre, stated that it is not possible to know what proportion of the punishments were remitted by the indulgence, and therefore it was still safer to do one's penance, and William added the duty to bring forth the fruits of penitence (Luke 3:8) as a further reason for doing penance.<sup>155</sup> The anonymous *Summa Breves dies hominis sunt* (c. 1202–06) claimed that it is not only safer to do one's penance, it is also sounder.<sup>156</sup>

The theologians of this period found two ways of explaining how the remissions of penances were, after all, valid. One was the *suffragia* of the Church: the

154 “nulli autem est certum, quod immunis sit, & mundus ab illis [mortalibus peccatis]; nulli ergo certum est, quod indulgentias hujusmodi percipiat: certum est autem unicuique se esse debitorem injunctae sibi poenitentiae, vel injungendae: quaere certum est, neminem debere propter hujusmodi indulgentias cessare ab agendâ poenitentâ, ne committat se periculo, & inaestimabilem acerbitatem ignis purgatorii incurrat, negligentia agendi poenitentiam suam, quae quantumcunque aspera sit, levissima tamen est, comparatione acerbiatis illius ignis. Et propter hoc nulli pro certo, atque praecise promittimus indulgentias istas, sed sub conditione illa, si immunes sint, & mundi a mortalibus.” Guilielmi Alverni p. 550.

155 “Solutio. Bene concedimus quod ecclesia non solum meretur remissionem culpe alicui, sed etiam remissionem pene, et relaxationes valent non ratione dati, sed etiam ratione precum; et potest esse quod alicui in datione oboli, gratia dati et gratia precum, dimittatur tertia pars penitentiae, tamen adhuc stat iusta estimatio et adhuc tenetur facere dignos fructus penitentiae.” *Summa aurea* IV p. 354.

156 “Tutum est autem et sanum et consultius peccatorum, ut sicut de suo intulit culpam si corporalem declinans poenam et eleemosinam redimens peccata sua.” Cited in Hödl p. 267. See also the anonymous *Summa Vaticana Ne transgrediaris*, ed. Hödl pp. 300–1, esp. l. 42–66.

good works performed by the members of the Church, and which could be applied to penitents in need by the priests and bishops by way of intercessory prayers. The other was the power to bind and to loose of the priests and bishops. Thus, the effect of the indulgences was thought to rest on either the power of intercession or on the power of the keys. Some theologians preferred the one over the other, most of them mentioned both. Let us look first at the way of intercession.

The idea of the *suffragia* rested on the principle of intercession, as well as on the principle of vicarious satisfaction: that one member of the Church might perform satisfaction for another member. Both principles were rooted in the ecclesiology of the Church as a body of which the members are the limbs, united by one Spirit and taking care of one another (1 Corinthians 12:12–30). Vicarious satisfaction and the belief that pious men could intercede for their fellow Christians can be traced back to the ancient Church and the belief that the community of the faithful had a responsibility to support the sinner in his penances by prayers and good works. Particular efficiency was attributed to the prayers of those who were close to God because of their piety, particularly the priests, bishops and martyrs. The intercession by martyrs had practical significance especially during the Roman persecutions of the Christians, and reached a high point under Emperor Decius in the third century.<sup>157</sup> In the Middle Ages, the intercession by priests and bishops was more important, and some early medieval penitentials prescribe that the priest must take part in the penance of the sinner with prayers and tears, and that he must fast together with him in order to help the sinner, and in order to plead for the mercy of God.<sup>158</sup>

It is the same underlying concepts that appear in the theology on indulgences. The *suffragia* and the idea of the Church as a community where the members help each other is at the core of Stephen Langton's explanation. He stated that a grant of indulgences was justified, if the penance was commuted into a monetary punishment, i.e. to the alms paid as *Ablasswerk*. However, if something was missing in this commutation, the Church could substitute for the missing satisfaction by prayers, fasting, alms, and other good works, because, Langton explained, the members of the Church help one another and bear each other's burdens in order to fulfil the law of Christ.<sup>159</sup> This was a refer-

<sup>157</sup> Poschmann 1948, pp. 7–9.

<sup>158</sup> Poschmann 1948, pp. 9–14, Angenendt p. 640.

<sup>159</sup> "Credunt enim se plene absolutos esse ad huiusmodi relaxationes super his, que relaxari putant, salutis sue provisores non amplius consulentes. Ideo consultius dici potest ecclesiam hanc habere potestatem, ut quantamlibet iniuncte penitentiae partem relaxaret, id est relaxatam esse apud deum ostendat. Sic enim commutatur pena in penam, corporalis

ence to Galatians 6:2, “Bear ye another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.” In another context, Langton founded the power of the bishops and pope to grant indulgences on 2 Corinthians 2:10, “To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also: for if I forgave anything, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ”, and he was probably the first to seek justification of the indulgences in Scripture.<sup>160</sup> Langton founded the effect of indulgences on a combination of commutation and *suffragia*, and he clearly thought that the *suffragia* were only to be used when the penitent was not able do his penance himself. Langton, too, admonished the penitents to do their penance themselves, because those who have sinned out of free will should also feel the punishment.<sup>161</sup> When the penitent had to resort to the *suffragia*, it worked in the way that the penance was transferred to the Church in analogy to the way in which obligations could be transferred from one man to another in forensic law.<sup>162</sup> What happened in an indulgence was then that the bishop or pope who granted it took over the punishments and transferred them to others, that is to the Church.<sup>163</sup> Thus, the sins were still atoned for. The same argument is found in Thomas of Chobham (d. 1233/36), who stated that a grant of indulgence of e.g. ten days meant that the issuer committed himself and his church to do ten days of penance for the recipient, and that this was possible because one man can do penance for another.<sup>164</sup>

Also Robert of Courson stated that the indulgences work because of the *suffragia* of the Church, and he thought that they helped in three ways: they lessen the punishments, pray for grace, and forgive lesser sins.<sup>165</sup> He went on to quote Peter the Chanter for saying that neither angels nor mortal humans

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scilicet in pecuniariam, que plerisque gravior est corporali. Si quid autem minus solvitur in pena pecuniaria, ecclesia per orationes, ieiunia, helimosinas et alia quecunque opera salutis set (!) se suscepit peragendum. Suffraganea enim sunt ecclesie membra et alterum alterius honera por. (!) ut sic adimpletur lex Christi (Gal. 6,2).” Edited in Gillmann 1913, pp. 371–2.

160 Hödl p. 308, Vorgrimler p. 206. Textual evidence edited in Hödl p. 347 and 354.

161 Cf. Paulus p. 217.

162 “Poena est translata a primo in secundum pure et absolute, sed non est absolutus primus nisi sub condicione. Sed si secundus eam perfecit, tunc absolutus erit primus, cum secundus eam perfecit. Subtilius tamen potest dici secundum subtilitatem iuris forensis, quod translata in alium obligatione poenae simpliciter absolutus est primus, et si secundus non persolverit aequissima iurium interpretatione reviscit quae perierat prior obligatio.” Edited in Hödl p. 348.

163 Cf. Hödl p. 354.

164 Paulus pp. 229–30. See also the anonymous question *De relaxationibus* in Hödl p. 341.

165 “Dicimus, quod predictae absolutiones valent per suffragia ecclesie ad tria scilicet ad pene diminutionem et ad gratie impetrationem et ad uenialium deletionem; tanta enim

know how much of the punishments are remitted by the prayers of the Church. The fact is, that the size of the remission depends on three things: the amount of devotion of those who gain the remission, how large or small the devotion of the intercessory prayer is, and on the number of those who pray.<sup>166</sup> This was all repeated by Gaufrid of Poitiers (d. c. 1235) who added that only God knew the actual size of the remission.<sup>167</sup> Consequently, it was impossible to state what the exact sizes of the remissions were. The same arguments are also found in Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240)<sup>168</sup> and in Raymund of Penaforte (c. 1180–1275).<sup>169</sup>

In the understanding of the early period, the indulgences thus essentially remained commutations of penance, either by works performed by the penitent himself or by the substituting *suffragia* of other members of the Church to whom the punishments were transferred.

### 3) The Issuer of Indulgences

The other way of accounting for the effect of the indulgences was the power of the keys of the issuer of the indulgences. Several theologians stated as a condition for a valid indulgence that the issuer had the power to bind and to loose, or the *auctoritas relaxantis* over the recipients, which meant that he could only

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est gratia in suffragiis et deuotione ecclesie quod per illa remittitur de pena penitentie et per illam infunditur prima gratia ..." Ed. Kennedy p. 328.

166 "Si autem queratur, quantum de pena remittatur isti per tales oblationes dicimus cum Cantore quod nec etiam angelus de celo nec aliquis homo mortalis, nisi ei fuit inspiratum, poterit hanc questionem solvere, quod per hoc patet unicuique intelligenti quod maioritas aut minoritas remissionis penitente attenditur secundum tria, scilicet quantitatem deuotionis eius qui accedit et secundum minorem aut maiorem deuotionem suffragantium et secundum pluralitatem aut paucitatem illorum qui suffragantur." Ed. Kennedy pp. 328–9.

167 "Si autem quaeratur, quantum de poena remittatur illi per tales orationes, dicimus cum Cantore Parisiensi, quod hoc scit Deus solus et quod nec angelus de caelo nec aliquis homo mortalis, nisi ei fuerit revelatum, potest hanc questionem solvere ..." Edited in Hödl p. 357.

168 Iacobi de Vitriaco: *Sermones in Epistolas & Evangelia Dominicalia totius anni* (1575), p. 418.

169 "Sciendum tamen quod maioritas et minoritas remissionis poenitentiae attenditur secundum tria, scilicet secundum maiorem et minorem deuotionem ipsius poenitentis, et ipsorum qui suffragantur, et secundum maiorem et minorem numerum eorundem suffragantium: cum igitur nullus possit scire mensuram, vel numerum talium, nec per consequens potest scire remissionis mensuram." Cited in Johannes Dietterle: "Die Summae confessorum" in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 1903, p. 541. The text was written in 1237, cf. Paulus I p. 242.

give indulgences to people from his own diocese, or on the orders of their own bishop.<sup>170</sup>

This principle had been laid down in a decretal by Alexander III (1159–81), which was included in the *Brevarium extravagantium* by Bernard of Pavia, composed in 1188–92, and which was later entered into the *Liber extra* of Gregory IX. The decretal stated that indulgences were only valid if they were issued by the recipient's "own judge" or if his "own judge" had given permission to it.<sup>171</sup> The canonists did not agree upon who these *proprii iudices* were; some thought that it was the bishops of the recipients, others thought that it was their confessors.<sup>172</sup>

Around 1190, this decretal was referred to by the canonist Huguccio (d. 1210) in his *summa* on Gratian; in his interpretation, the "own judge" of the recipient was the confessor, and he stated that indulgences granted by prelates were valid for their own subjects or for those whose confessors, when enjoining penance, had allowed them to seek remission by any priest.<sup>173</sup> In the same place, Huguccio also stated that what was remitted of temporal punishments *juste clave non erante*, by using the keys justly, was confirmed by God. Huguccio did not specify what a just use was, but quoted Matthew 16:19 as proof that the remissions granted by the Church did work, because this text testified that the penances could be enjoined and remitted according to the will of the priest.<sup>174</sup>

170 E.g. William of Auxerre, "Primum est potestas ligandi et solvendi, scilicet ut absolvatur ille qui absolvitur a prelato suo vel ab alio de precepto prelati." *Summa aurea* IV p. 351; Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones* p. 418. Cf. also Hödl p. 338.

171 "Quod autem consuluisti, utrum remissiones, quae fiunt in dedicationibus ecclesiarum aut conferentibus ad aedificationem pontium, aliis prosint, quam his, qui remittentibus subsunt, hoc volumus tuam fraternitatem [*firmiter*] tenere, quod, quum a non suo iudice ligari nullus valeat vel absolvi, remissiones praedictas prodesse illis tantummodo arbitramur, quibus, ut prosint, proprii iudices speciaiter indulerunt. *Et in hoc eam intelligas questionem solutam, in qua quaeritur, utrum is, qui excommunicato communicat, a suo episcopo vel excommunicati absolutionis gratiam debeat implorare.*" In *Decretales Gregorii IX* c. 4. x. v. 38; c.f. *Compilatio prima* c. 3 v. 33 in *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, ed. E. Friedberg (1882; repr. 1956).

172 Paulus II p. 218 f.

173 "Plane et firmiter credendum est quod remissiones, quae fiunt a prelatis ecclesie, ut homines invitentur ad aliquod bonum faciendum, valent, set eis tantum, qui eis subsunt, et eis, quibus sic est inposita penitentia, ut possint fieri eis a quocunque sacerdote, ut in extra In eminenti [=c. 3. v. 33; c. 4. x. v. 38], nec illi, quibus fit remissio, tenentur id facere, quod sibi remissum est de penitentia." Cited in Gillmann 1913, p. 368; cf. also Paulus I p. 221.

174 "*Quibus enim remittunt iuste clave non erante, remittunt dico de pena, remittat deus, i.e. illam remissionem approbat et confirmat. Ubi ergo sunt illi, qui dicunt, quod remissiones*

Also Stephen Langton stated that a bishop could only grant indulgences to his own subjects, and to him this was both a question of jurisdiction and of knowing the inner disposition of the recipient.<sup>175</sup> He allowed bishops to grant indulgences to the subjects of other bishops only if the issuer had a papal privilege or a licence from the bishop of the recipients, because otherwise he would have no jurisdiction over them. But Langton was also concerned by the fact that a prelate who was granting general indulgences would not be able to know the conscience and sins of a thousand people, and Langton therefore stated that no one ought to try to obtain such indulgences without permission from his own priest.<sup>176</sup>

A few theologians, like Praepositinus (d. 1210) and Peter of Capua (d. 1214?), founded the power to grant indulgences primarily on the power of the keys, but most theologians also referred to the power of intercession as the warrant of the effect, and found that the two powers worked in combination.<sup>177</sup> Peter of Capua belonged to what appears to have been a small minority who emphasized the authority and the sentence of the issuer, and he maintained that the size of the indulgences depended solely on the intention of the issuer, and not on the sins and penitential actions of the individual recipient. If he wanted to,

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*facte ab ecclesia et que fiunt cotidie in ecclesia, non valent nisi ad relevandas negligentias et functiones penitentialium?* Ipse enim Christus dixit in evangelio: Si cui peccata remiseritis, remittentur ei, ut I. q. I. evidenter et quecunque solvitis super terram, erunt soluta etc., ut hic. Item penitentiae ecclesiasticae arbitrarie sunt, i.e. in arbitrio sacerdotum posite, ut possint eas artare vel protelare inspecta causa sive inponendas sive inpositas ..." Ed. in Gillmann 1913, pp. 367–8.

175 Texts edited in Gillmann 1913, pp. 372–5.

176 "Dicimus quod si hoc facit auctoritate maioris, utens privilegio domini pape vel sui metropolitani vel cum conniventia confinium episcoporum, licite hoc facit, alias autem presumit, eo quod non interest sua oves alienas iudicare, cum nihil iuris habeat super eas. Item sicut prelatus non novit tot hominum, ita non novit singulorum conscientias et mentes. Cum ergo culpe eorum illi sint ignote, nescit modum vel mensuram pene relaxande. Presumit ergo indiscrete agit. Ideo videtur dicendum, quod nemo sine licentia proprii sacerdotis debet ire ad huiusmodi relaxationes. Ille autem ad arbitrium suum mitat quos viderit esse mittendos et relaxatione dignos." Edited in Gillmann 1913, p. 372. Langton stated the same opinion later in this work, "Set nunquid episcopus in benedictione generali mille hominum qualitates et habitus poterit estimare, ut pro nummo vel oblo tantas satisfactiones ignotis devotionibus et aliis rei circumstantis sibi liceat relaxare?" Ed. in Gillmann 1913, p. 375, see also p. 373.

177 Texts by Praepositinus on indulgences edited in Morinus p. 769, in Paulus I pp. 227–8, and in Hödl p. 285. Texts by Peter of Capua edited in Hödl pp. 291–3.

the bishop could grant the same indulgence for the same payment of alms to both the rich and the poor man.<sup>178</sup>

It was, however, not completely unproblematic to found the power to grant indulgences on the power of the keys, because the priests also had the keys, and they were not generally seen as issuers of indulgences.<sup>179</sup> The priests had long exercised a power to commute and relax penances in the confessional, as we saw in the previous chapter, and as we saw with Peter the Chanter, the theologians who first tried to give a theoretical foundation of the indulgences explained them along these lines, and regarded the granting of general indulgences as a kind of extension of this power. On the other hand, the practise of the Church was that priests did not grant general indulgences, which made it clear that a distinction should be made between the priests and bishops in this respect. After all, the practice and *consuetudo* of the Church were the guiding principles for the theologians, as they themselves recognized.<sup>180</sup> Consequently, the power of the keys had to be qualified with the *jurisdictio* and *auctoritas* that came with being a bishop.<sup>181</sup>

Whether the power to grant indulgences pertained to both priests and bishops, or to the bishops alone, may have been a matter of dispute, even if it hardly surfaces in the sources in this period.<sup>182</sup> There are, however, a few remarks by the theologians that might indicate that it was not unthinkable that priests could grant indulgences, and that some thought that they did have powers in this respect. The demand made by some theologians for the consent of the

178 "Ideoque dicimus, quod praelatus potest dimittere absque omni oblatione omnem poenam, praecique hiis, qui sunt de grege suo [...] Et ideo etiam cum oblatione potest remittere quantumcumque voluerit de poenitentia. Attendenda est ergo intentio episcopi: si episcopus habuit intentionem, ut quoties aliquis sic offerat, fieri ei talis remissio. [...] Non enim si ex caritate volo, ut Deus det mihi multas divitias, ideo habebo illas; in divite autem non est, ut per suam oblationem consequatur remissionem sed in sententia praelati." Edited in Hödl p. 293.

179 This may well be the reason why Stephen Langton did not found the power to grant indulgences on the keys, as stated by Hödl p. 353.

180 E.g. Peter the Chanter, Praepositinus, see Hödl pp. 306–8; Shaffern 2007, p. 83.

181 On the twelfth-century development of the theology on the power of the keys and on the distinctions between its different aspects and the powers of the bishops, priests and abbots, see the monograph by Hödl.

182 The question has barely been treated by modern scholars, either. Lea mentions it briefly, III p. 11, and so does Poschmann 1948, p. 89. J.E. Campbell, *Indulgences. The ordinary Power of Prelates Inferior to the Pope to Grant Indulgences* (1953), does not consider the powers of the priests. Cf. also Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy. The Chief Instruments of Papal Crusading Policy and Crusade to the Holy Land from the Final Loss of Jerusalem to the Fall of Acre, 1244–1291* (1975), p. 50.



confessor as a condition for a valid indulgence implies that they thought that the priests should have some rights over the indulgences. Similarly, the quotation above from Huguccio seems to imply that he thought that priests could grant indulgences. A little after our period, the decretalists occupied themselves with this question, and around 1241 Goffredus of Trani (d. 1245) made a mention of it in his commentary on the Gregorian decretals. Here, he says that the priest could grant "private" indulgences to his penitents in connection with the administration of penances, but the public and general indulgences could only be granted by bishops, and only to their own subjects.<sup>183</sup> This commentary was often repeated by later decretalists, e.g. Innocent IV and Hostiensis,<sup>184</sup> and it is not unlikely that the opinion was also shared by earlier canonists and theologians. However, the few scattered remarks before Goffredus may also be interpreted as echoes of the early attempts by Peter the Chanter and others to explain indulgences along the lines of the familiar commutations and relaxations by the priests, and not as comments on the way indulgences were actually administered. On the other hand, Goffredus' distinction between the private indulgences by the priests and the general indulgences by the bishops summed up neatly the idea of the indulgences as relaxations, and harmonized it with real life, the prerogatives of the bishops, and the decretals. This is probably why his solution was cited so often. It was, however, not accepted by those theologians who formed the theology of the mature indulgences from the middle of the thirteenth century, e.g. Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>185</sup>

In our period, Jacques de Vitry also mentioned priests as granters of indulgences, but he did so in a quite casual way which is hard to interpret. He, too, regarded the indulgences along the lines of the relaxations granted by the priests, which they exercised by using their power of the keys, but he then went on to state that indulgences were valid on the condition that the issuer had not only the keys, but also the power to commit the Church to pray especially for those who were promised an indulgence.<sup>186</sup> Jacques de Vitry was a proponent of a hierarchical theory of the right to grant indulgences, and explained that popes and bishops could grant larger indulgences, because the pope as head of the whole Church could command over the *suffragia* of the whole Church, while an archbishop could command over those of his province; the priest

183 Cited in Paulus I p. 251.

184 Paulus I pp. 251, 319–20, 322.

185 Cf. Paulus II p. 221.

186 "Primum autoritas relaxationis, vt, scilicet, claues habeat & potestatem obligandi Ecclesiam, vt oret specialiter pro his, quibus indulgentia promittitur." Iacobi de Vitriaco, *Sermones* p. 418.

however, could only assign the *suffragia* of one parish.<sup>187</sup> This seems to indicate that Jacques thought that the priests could indeed grant indulgences, but only smaller ones, because they only had authority over a small amount of the *suffragia*.

Whether or not Jacques de Vitry's remark should be interpreted as a statement that indulgences could be granted by priests by around 1200, his hierarchical idea points towards the theory of Thomas Aquinas, in which the pope has the plenitude of power to grant indulgences, and the powers of the bishops are derived and delegated from those of the pope.

In the explanation of Jacques de Vitry, the issuer could grant indulgences because he exercised the administration of the *suffragia* of the Church; the issuer of the indulgence had to have both the power to bind and to loose and the authority to commit the prayers of the Church to those who received the indulgence, and thus the bishop's power of intercession worked in combination with his power of the keys.<sup>188</sup>

Generally, the theologians of this period derived the power to grant indulgences from the powers of the individual issuers. The keys were understood as the keys of the individual bishop, and also the power of intercession depended on the individual bishop and on the amount of *suffragia* he was able to distribute. Some theologians held the bishop personally responsible for the compensation, and Praepositinus claimed that the bishop had to do satisfaction himself in order to make up for the relaxations.<sup>189</sup> According to Arnold Angenendt it was the general opinion in this period that the relaxed penances had to be paid to the last mite, and that the bishop was responsible for this and might put his own salvation at stake if he promised large indulgences. Angenendt adds that this means that from the outset, the indulgence was anything but an easy bargain.<sup>190</sup>

187 "Unde et summus Pontifex, qui in persona universalis Ecclesiae obligare se potest, vel Archiepiscopus, qui specialem confert participationem bonorum, quae fuerint in provincia sua, maiorem habet relaxandi efficaciam quam sacerdos qui participationem bonorum unius parochiae suffragalibus concedit." Ibid.

188 It is perhaps significant that Jacques delivers his views on indulgences in a sermon on the power of the keys: Iacobi de Vitriaco, *Sermones* pp. 413–20. Cf. also Paulus I p. 241.

189 "Credimus valere talem absolutionem, nam in tali casu episcopus pro talibus satisfacere debet, quod si in nullo fecerit, potius ei imputabiliter quam illi." Edited in Hödl p. 285, and in Paulus I p. 227.

190 Arnold Angenendt emphasizes that before the treasury of merits, the bishop was personally responsible for the provision of compensation or substitution for the relaxed penances: "Bei Hochherziger Selbstaufopferung risikierten solche Ablassgeber das eigene Seelenheil." However, he only mentions one example, that of Eugenius III (in the *Historia*

As we will see later on, the decisive step towards a developed theory of indulgences that could account for their absolute effect occurred when the theologians stopped letting the effect rest on the authority and powers of the individual bishops and turned to the powers of the whole Church instead.

### Conclusion

It is not possible to divide these theologians into distinct schools of thoughts on the indulgences, as the arguments are borrowed and mixed in different ways by the individual authors. We may note, however, that before c. 1230 there were basically three different ways of explaining and accounting for the effect of indulgences:

- 1) As commutation of penance – the penitential works are compensated by the works of the recipient himself in the *Ablasswerk* or by his contrition.
- 2) By vicarious satisfaction or *suffragia* – the penitential works are compensated by the help from the community of the Church.
- 3) By the authority of the bishop – the keys to bind and to loose.

Both 1) and 2) argue by way of commutation, only that in 1) the compensation comes from the recipient himself, and in 2) it comes from the Church. The last possibility, 3) argues by way of authority.

Those who argued by way of commutation also often maintained that indulgences should be granted individually because they regarded indulgences along the lines of the individual commutations of penances. They also stated that the actual effect of the indulgence was never quite certain, because it depended – at least in part – on the disposition of the individual.

Those who argued by way of authority emphasized the authority and powers of the bishop much more, and maintained that the size of the indulgences depended on the intention of the issuer and not on the sins and penitential actions of the individual recipient.

We may also note that the group who argued by way of commutation appears to have been by far the largest in this period, and that it includes masters who have been associated with the circle evolving around the practical-moral

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*Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury, 41, ed. Marjorie Chibnall p. 82) who admonished a count to take back his wife and in return promised to answer himself for all the previous sins of the count. "Ein solches Beispiel zeigt, dass der Ablass in seinen Anfängen alles andere als ein billiger Handel gewesen ist, weil nämlich ausser Zweifel stand, dass die Busse bis zum letzten Heller abzugelten sei, und wer von Busswerken freisprechen wollte, musste selber für das Abbezahlen aufkommen." Angenendt pp. 652–3.

school of theology of Peter the Chanter at Paris in the decades around 1200: Robert of Courson, Stephen Langton, Thomas of Chobham, Gaufried of Poitiers, Jacques de Vitry, Radulphus Ardens, Giraldus of Cambrai,<sup>191</sup> and Robert of Flamborough.<sup>192</sup> The representatives of the group who argued by authority (which adds up to only Peter of Capua and Prepositinus) are not usually included in the Chanter's circle. Nor are Simon of Tournai or Alain of Lille, but they shared some views on the indulgences with the theologians of the Chanter's circle.<sup>193</sup> Others of the above-mentioned theologians, like William of Auvergne and Raymund of Penaforte, were too young to be of the Chanter's circle, but did agree with it on some points. Again, it is not possible to establish distinct schools of theology on the indulgences, or to distil a certain Chanter-circle theology on this subject. We may, however, detect some common ground in the statements on indulgences made by the theologians of the Chanter's circle: the demands for individual remissions; the concern that the indulgences might harm the penitence felt by the recipient; the emphasis on penance and that it had to be compensated either by the penitent himself or by the suffragia; the insistence that indulgences were only meant for people who were not able to perform their penances; that the effect of the indulgence depended on the individual qualities of the recipient. All these points correspond well to the ideas of the Chanter's circle, characterised by an interest in the practical application of ethics and moral theology, and by an emphasis on the knowledge of the individual circumstances of the penitent as the prerequisite to the application of the correct penitential medicine.<sup>194</sup>

### 3.2.4 *The Fourth Lateran Council 1215*

The theologians whose discussions and deliberations have been followed above may at some points seem far from the day-to-day business of ecclesiastical affairs, especially in their demands for individual remissions and consent by the confessor, which would have made the application of indulgences quite

191 John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants. The Social Views of Peter the Chanter & His Circle* (1970), pp. 17–8.

192 Robert of Flamborough is also included in the circle by Baldwin, p. 18. Robert made only a very short statement on the indulgences in his penitential (x 19), in which he stated only that even though the theologians did not agree on how much they were worth, he nevertheless recommended them to anyone. Cf. Paulus I p. 229, Dietterle p. 371.

193 Baldwin mentions these four theologians as belonging to an "outer circle" around Peter the Chanter, who did not share his enthusiasm for practical morality, but occasionally discussed the same topics as the Chanter (p. 18). This is yet another example showing that the schools and circles of this period should not be taken too literally.

194 On the theology of the Chanter and his circle see Baldwin 1970, esp. pp. 47–59.

impractical. Still, they cannot have been making their statements in an atmosphere of splendid isolation from the practicalities and realities of the officials of the Church. Many of them became bishops and cardinals themselves, and even if they wrote their works on indulgences while they were still teachers in Paris, to many of them the prospect of becoming a bishop must have seemed a desirable and perhaps even a probable career opportunity.

As it turned out, some of their points of criticism were actually heard, and it is possible to trace their impact on the decrees that were issued at the Fourth Lateran Council. This general council, summoned by Pope Innocent III with the two goals of launching a new crusade and reforming the universal Church, was also the first council to issue guidelines on the administration of indulgences. The council was convoked in the spring of 1213 to be held in November 1215, and for the intervening time, the pope commissioned legates to prepare the council and the crusade in each province. The legate for France was Robert of Courson, the student of Peter the Chanter and teacher at Paris, who had been made cardinal in 1212.<sup>195</sup> During 1213–15, he held a number of councils for the French clergy, at which he succeeded in implementing in the decrees some of the elements of the reform programme that he had also argued in his *Summa*, written while he was a teacher at Paris, and some of these decrees were later adopted by the Lateran Council.<sup>196</sup> In this *Summa*, Courson had also criticised the way indulgences were administered, especially rebuking the practise of the travelling *questuarii* (questors) who preached indulgences and collected alms for the construction of churches, calling them thieves and plunderers because they did not tell people the truth, but claimed that the indulgences were valid for everybody who paid the alms, no matter their spiritual state, and that indulgences even worked for the deceased.<sup>197</sup> Courson urged the local priests to expel corrupt questors, even at the risk of getting themselves excommunicated by the issuing bishops.<sup>198</sup> He also criticised that the questors brought relics of saints with them in order to enhance the outcome of their trips, and he stated that the prelates should not allow the questors to thus make “mendicants” of the dead saints and display them for profit.<sup>199</sup>

195 On the life of Robert of Courson, see Marcel and Christiane Dickson, “Le cardinal Robert de Courson. Sa vie” in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 9 (1934), pp. 53–142.

196 On the similarities between the *Summa* of Courson and the decrees of the local French councils and of the Fourth Lateran, see M. & C. Dickson pp. 125–6.

197 Ed. Kennedy p. 330.

198 Ed. Kennedy p. 331.

199 “Preterea hoc indecorum est et contra auctoritatem et honestatem sanctorum ut episcopus faciat illos mendicare mortuos et post mortem ea acquirere que in uita tanquam

These objections are met by the decree no. 62 of the Fourth Lateran Council, *Cum ex eo*, which is opened by a prohibition that relics are put on display or put up for sale. Prelates are to make sure that people who come to their church to venerate are not deceived by “vain fictions or false documents, as has commonly happened in many places for the getting of alms.”<sup>200</sup> The decree goes on to forbid that the questors, who sometimes do not stick to the truth in their sermons, be admitted unless they show genuine letters from the pope or the diocesan bishop, and it states that they are not to be allowed to put forward to the people anything beyond what is contained in those letters. The decree leaves no doubt as to what a genuine letter of indulgence should look like, as it cites a copy of the formula which is “usually used” by the apostolic see, in order that the diocesan bishops may model their letters on it. Furthermore, the questors of alms are requested to be modest and discreet, not to accommodate themselves in taverns or other unsuitable places, or to make unnecessary expenses, “being careful above all not to bear the garb of false religion.”<sup>201</sup>

The decree goes on to state a maximum for indulgences granted by bishops, on the grounds that the keys of the Church were being brought into contempt and that the penitential satisfaction was weakened because of the indiscriminate and excessive indulgences, which “certain” prelates of churches were not afraid to grant.<sup>202</sup> Therefore, it was decreed that the indulgences given at the consecrations of churches should not exceed one year, whether the church was dedicated by one bishop or by more. For all other occasions, indulgences should not exceed 40 days. The decretal does not set any limits for the indulgences of the pope, but states that he “generally observes this moderation in such things” even though he has the plenitude of power.<sup>203</sup> Thus, the relation between the powers of the bishops and the pope with regard to indulgences was laid down by this decretal. Even though it does not specifically mention that popes could grant plenary indulgences, this was the inherent meaning of the allusion to the plenitude of power, and the popes continued to grant plenary indulgences in larger numbers as the notion of the plenitude of power evolved, while the limitation of 40 days for the indulgences granted by bishops

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stercora contempnere. [...] Sic ergo patet quod reliquie sanctorum non sunt exponende ad mentiendum uel mendicandum uel ad deum per miracula temptandum [...] nec in questu meretricum sedeant uel uenum tradantur.” Ed. Kennedy p. 333.

200 Lateran IV c. 62 in Alberigo p. 239, translation in Patrick J. Geary, *Readings in Medieval History* (1995), p. 477.

201 Ibid.

202 According to the research of Paulus, these prelates can not have been many in number, I pp. 177–92, esp. 192.

203 Lateran IV c. 62, Alberigo pp. 239–40; Geary pp. 477–8

remained in force.<sup>204</sup> The Fourth Lateran Council also forbade abbots to grant letters of indulgences, on the grounds that they should not exceed their powers and reach out for those reserved to the bishops.<sup>205</sup> The possibility of indulgences by priests is not mentioned.

The first part of the decretal *Cum ex eo* is very much reminiscent of the objections of Robert of Courson, and both the context and the words form several parallels to Robert's *Summa*. This may be a strong indication that Robert of Courson exerted a certain influence on the drawing up of this decree,<sup>206</sup> and we know that he did take part in the council. On the other hand, it appears that Courson was not in favour with either the French prelacy or the pope when the council opened in November 1215, because of his ineptness in the handling of the French Church.<sup>207</sup> At any rate, that the ideas put forward in the *Summa* of Robert were adopted by the decrees of the general council should probably not be seen as due to his personal influence alone. These ideas were part of the reform programme put forward by Peter the Chanter and his circle. This programme involved a reform of Christian society that aimed at returning the life of both clergy and laity to the norms laid down by the commands of Scripture and the life of the apostles. Among its items was a campaign against usury which Robert of Courson led with great zeal.<sup>208</sup> John W. Baldwin has examined the success of this reform programme at the Fourth Lateran Council with regard to the questions of capital punishment, ordeals, marriage, and clerical celibacy, and concluded that Peter the Chanter and his circle were a "moving spirit" behind the very important reforms concerned with ordeals and marriage that were adopted by the council.<sup>209</sup> This study also suggests that the im-

204 The decretalist Hostiensis noted in 1250–51 that the popes were free to exceed the limits of one year or 40 days, and that they often did so (cf. Paulus I p. 328). The bishops sought to go by the limitation, and therefore the practise of collective indulgences arose, in which a number of bishops joined their privileges of 40 days each. It was a matter of fierce debate whether this practise was contrary to the decree of the Fourth Lateran and some argued vigorously for the collective indulgences, see Robert W. Shaffern, "A new canonistic text on indulgences: *De quantitate indulgenciarum* of John of Dambach, O.P. (1288–1372)" in *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n.s. 21 (1991), pp. 25–45.

205 Lateran IV c. 60, Alberigo p. 238.

206 Hödl p. 324: "Das Konzilsdekret *Cum ex eo* ist *ad mentem*, wenn nicht *ad litteras* des Kardinals Courson geschrieben."

207 M. & C. Dickson pp. 112–6.

208 On the fusion of reform, anti-usury campaigning, and crusade preaching in Robert of Courson and other members of the Chanter circle see Jessalyn Bird, "Reform or Crusade? Anti-Ursury and Crusade Preaching during the Pontificate of Innocent III" in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (1999), pp. 165–85.

209 John W. Baldwin 1970, vol. 1 pp. 318–43.

pact of the ideas of the Chanter and his circle on this council owed more to the regard Pope Innocent III seems to have had for the Chanter and his theology than to the participation of individual members of the circle. The only other member of the circle known to have participated in the council apart from Robert of Courson is Stephen Langton, and he too arrived in disgrace.<sup>210</sup>

However, the demands for individual remissions and consent of the confessor, which had been made by Peter the Chanter and some of his followers and colleagues, were not met by the Lateran Council.<sup>211</sup> These demands were hardly practicable either, and it would have altered the institution profoundly if the theologians had had it their way here, if not made it impossible. However, the limitations on the sizes of indulgences in *Cum ex eo* might to some extent have been inspired by the discussions of the theologians about the true sizes of indulgences, and their concern that the bishops might not be able to provide enough *suffragia* to compensate for the remitted penances.

The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council did not bring clarity to the theology of indulgences, however, and while they stated general guidelines for the administration of the institution, they did not formulate a general theology on the matter. In some respects, one might even say that the council brought less theological clarity. The decrees of the council contain two formulas of indulgences; one is the standard formula for letters of indulgences that was stated in *Cum ex eo*, the other is found in decree no. 71, *Ad liberandam*, which is a crusading charter. The formula of the crusade indulgence in *Ad liberandam* became the standard formula used in almost all later thirteenth- and fourteenth-century crusading bulls, and even into the sixteenth century.<sup>212</sup> However, this formula is not theologically clear, and neither was the formula stated in *Cum ex eo*. These two formulas both speak of the remission of sins, and not of the re-

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210 Baldwin 1970, pp. 342–3. Langton was in disgrace because of his resistance to excommunicating the enemies of King John. M. & C. Dickson found that the influence of Robert of Courson owed less to him as a person than to the fact that he was a part of a group of people who gave voice to the needs of the time: “cette législation semble avoir été déterminée beaucoup plus par les besoins de l’époque, dont Courson est un témoin, que par une homme. Néanmoins, ces réformes étaient réclamées déjà par les hommes tels que Pierre le Chantre, Foulques de Neuilly, Jacques de Vitry, avec lesquels Courson était lié.” p. 126.

211 Peter the Chanter, ed. Gillmann 1913, p. 366; Peter of Poitiers, PL 211:1076; Stephen Langton, ed. Gillmann pp. 372–5; Anonymous, *De relaxationibus*, ed. Hödl pp. 340–1.

212 Paulus 11 p. 31; Mayer 1996, p. 33, Gottlob 1906, p. 136.



mission of penances as would be the more correct in theological terms.<sup>213</sup> In the case of *Cum ex eo*, it can be gathered from the subsequent paragraph that what was meant was indeed the remission of penance and not of sins, since it is said that the indulgences of the bishops are remitting 40 days of imposed penance. The formula of *Ad liberandam* is more difficult because it says that what is remitted are the sins that the crusaders have repented in their hearts and confessed with their mouths.<sup>214</sup> In this case, it must refer to the sins, since it is not penances that are confessed. Does this mean that the standard crusade indulgence was an indulgence *a culpa*?<sup>215</sup> It might seem that the distinction between guilt and punishment was not entirely clear to those who drew up the decree, but actually there was a long tradition for using the word 'sin' in the sense of punishments for sins, and many of the theologians of the twelfth century pointed out that 'remission of sin' had multiple meanings.<sup>216</sup> The formula could be explained along the same lines as the controversial formula *a poena et culpa* (cf. above chapter 1.1). In this case, the insertion about confession of sins should be understood as stating that the condition for enjoying the benefits of the indulgence was that the recipient had confessed his sins and obtained absolution for them by his own priest. Since this indulgence was a plenary indulgence, it meant that the crusader ended up with a full remission of both sins and penances, i.e. he received absolution for his sins as well as all his penances remitted. Thus, the formula can be perceived as a kind of shorthand for "remission of both sins and penances." The phrasing is, however, somewhat imprecise and this is accentuated by the last part of the privilege, which is a partial indulgence for those who do not take part as crusaders, but contribute with money or assistance. These people will "participate in this remission in proportion to their help and to their devotion."<sup>217</sup> The decree does not state whether this is understood as a remission of sins or of penance. Since

213 The formula of *Ad liberandam* is quoted in Appendix 1 below. The formula of *Cum ex eo* reads: "universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in Domino atque in remissionem vobis iniungimus peccatorum, quatenus de bonis a Deo collatis, pias eleemosynas et grata eis caritas subsidia erogetis, ut per subventionem vestram ipsorum inopiae consulatur, et vos per haec et per alia bona, quae Domino inspirante feceritis, ad aeterna possitis gaudia pervenire." Ed. Alberigo p. 239.

214 "plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus liberaliter fuerint corde contriti et ore confessi, veniam indulgemus." Ed. Alberigo pp. 246–7.

215 As H.E. Mayer appears to suggest 1996, pp. 33–5.

216 Cf. Paulus I p. 253–9. Paulus obviously has an apologetic agenda here, but my own research supports his exposition, cf. below chapters 3.2.8 and 4.2.1.

217 "Huius quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes, iuxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum." Ed. Alberigo p. 247.

the first sentence speaks of a remission of sins it would appear that it was a partial remission of sins – but that would be inappropriate, since sins could only be remitted fully or not.

That this formula of crusade indulgences, which became standard, was ambiguous is attested by the fact that a generation later, Thomas Aquinas took time to explain its meaning.<sup>218</sup> He raised two problems in relation to it. The first is that the formulas *remissio peccatorum* or *veniam peccatorum* may cause confusion of indulgences with the sacramental absolution of sins granted after confession. Thomas Aquinas refers to this in the beginning of the *questio*, where he states that “God only remits sins in relation to the guilt (*quantum ad culpam*). When the pope therefore gives a plenary indulgence of sins (*indulgentiam omnium peccatorum*), this does not refer to the guilt, but to the totality of punishments.”<sup>219</sup> Later in the same *questio*, he returns to this and sorts out the roles of God and the minister of the Church with regard to the forgiveness of sins; only God has the authority to forgive the guilt of sin, but the priest may also be said to forgive sins when he administers the sacraments of forgiveness of sins, for example in baptism or penance. “However, an indulgence does not include the forgiveness of the guilt of sin, because it is not sacramental.”<sup>220</sup> The second problem with the formula is that sins, i.e. the guilt of sins, can only be forgiven fully or not; there can be no partial remission of the guilt of sins. The remission of sins is a gift that cancels the guilt of sin completely, and restores the sinner to the state of grace. Reversely, a sinner cannot regret only one sin and have only this one sin forgiven – that would mean that he remained in sin in other ways, and that his contrition would not be sincere. This fundamental principle of true penance had been stressed already by Gregory VII at his synods, as we saw in chapter 3.1.3. The problem is addressed by Thomas Aquinas at the end of the *questio*: “Now, no one can be absolved from one sin without being absolved from all. But punishment can be dismissed either totally or partially. For punishment is dismissed partially by sacramental absolution, but totally by the spiritual grace of a [plenary] indulgence.”<sup>221</sup> Here Thomas Aquinas

218 In *Questiones quodlibetales* II 8, 2, ed. R. Spiazzi (1956), pp. 37–8.

219 “Praeterea solum Deus remittit peccatum quantum ad culpam. Cum ergo Papa dat indulgentiam omnium peccatorum, hoc non est referendum ad culpam, sed ad universitatem poenarum.” Ibid. p. 37.

220 “Ad secundum dicendum, quod per auctoritatem solus Deus culpam remittit, sed ministerio etiam sacerdos, in quantum exhibet sacramentum remissionis peccati, puta in baptismo vel poenitentia. Et tamen indulgentia non se extendit ad remissionem culpae, quia non est sacramentalis,” *ibid.*

221 “Non potest autem aliquis absolvi ab una culpa, quin absolvatur ab omnibus. Poena vero potest totaliter dimitti, vel particulariter. Particulariter quidem in absolutione sacramen-

nas refers to the last part of the formula of the crusade indulgence and the impossibility of granting a partial indulgence as a “remission of sins.”

In other words, the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council appear to attest to the fact that the theology of indulgences was at that time still somewhat fuzzy. In order to see the fully developed theology of indulgences, we must turn to the theologians of the middle of the thirteenth century, even though the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the end of the pontificate of Innocent III in 1216 mark the end of the main scope of this study

### 3.2.5 *The Treasury of Merit*

The consolidation of the theology of indulgences came by the middle of the thirteenth century with the propagation of the teaching of the treasury of merit. It is not certain who first formulated this idea, but both Paulus and Poschmann found that a probable candidate was the Dominican cardinal Hugh of St Cher (c. 1190–1263).<sup>222</sup> He was lecturing on the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard in Paris in 1230–32 and wrote a commentary on this work, which may well have given him occasion to comment on the indulgences, but his writings on this subject appear to have been lost.<sup>223</sup> The attribution of the authorship of the treasury to Hugh relies on the testimony of the decretalist Hostiensis (Henry of Susa, d. 1271) who expounded the treasury thus:

The son of God shed not only a drop, but all his blood for the sinners; and besides, the martyrs shed their blood for the faith and the Church, and they were punished beyond that for which they had sinned. It so occurs that in the said effusion of blood, all sin is punished, and this effusion of blood is the stored treasury in the cask of the Church, of which the Church possesses the keys. Hence, when the Church wishes, she is able to open the cask, and will be able to grant to anyone her treasury, through granting indulgences and remissions to the faithful. And thus sin goes not

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tali poena dimittitur; totaliter vero in spirituali gratia indulgentiae.” Ibid. p. 38.

<sup>222</sup> Paulus II p. 197, Poschmann 1948, p. 82. Recently, R.W. Shaffern has argued that the evidence for accrediting Hugh of St Cher is scant, and that the treasury was not invented by the schoolmen. The theologians and canonists of the mid-thirteenth century merely “teased out a doctrine from ideas and images already current in Latin Christendom”; Shaffern 2007, pp. 81–106; cf. Shaffern 2006, p. 24.

<sup>223</sup> Paulus II pp. 171, 197.

unpunished, because it was punished in the son of God, and by his holy martyrs, according to the lord cardinal Hugh.<sup>224</sup>

Whether Hugh of St Cher was the author of the treasury of merit or not, the metaphor appears to have become common within the period 1230–50. An early example is William of Auvergne's use of the imagery of the indulgences as being payments from a treasury in the passage quoted in the introduction above. When the three great scholastics, Albert the Great, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas wrote about the indulgences in their commentaries on the *Sententiae* in the years 1248–55, they all mentioned the treasury of merits as a matter of fact, and used it to justify the indulgences.<sup>225</sup> In these works they only mentioned the treasury briefly, but Thomas Aquinas returned to the subject in his *Questiones quodlibetales* from c. 1270 where he expounded it more fully. Here, Aquinas stated the basic principles for the institution of indulgences. First, the principle of vicarious satisfaction and that "the work of one person can be satisfactory for another, whom the doer's intention designates."<sup>226</sup> Secondly, that Christ shed his blood and suffered for the Church, which was "an infinite treasure for human beings" (Wisdom 7:14), and that also the saints had the intention that what they suffered for God would be for the well-being of the whole Church. Thirdly, that the pope has the authority to grant from the treasury when the well-being of the Church requires it. Aquinas strongly emphasized that it was the pope as the head of the Church who had the authority to dispense from the treasury. In his earlier writings on the indulgences, he explained that the pope has the plenitude of power (*plenitudinem potestatis*) in the Church, while the bishops only have a share in this power (*in partem*

224 "Cum filius Dei non solum guttam, sed totum sanguinem fuderit pro peccatoribus, et preterea martyres pro fide et Ecclesia sanguinem fuderint et ultra quod peccassent, puniti fuerint, restat quod in dicta effusione omne peccatum punitum est; et hec sanguinis effusio est thesaurus in scrinio Ecclesie repositus, cuius claves habet Ecclesia; unde quando vult, potest scrinium aperire et thesaurum suum cui voluerit communicare, remissiones et indulgentias faciendo. Et sic peccatum non remanet impunitum, quia punitum fuit in filio Dei et martyribus sanctis suis, secundum dominum Hugonem cardinalem." Cited in Paulus II p. 198; translation partly from Shaffern 1996, pp. 243–4.

225 Paulus I pp. 268ff; Bonaventura, *Commentaria in IV libros sententiarum* 20, 2, 3 in *Opera omnia* IV p. 534; Thomas Aquinas, *Commentum in IV libros sententiarum* 20, also printed in *Summa Theologica, Supplementum* 26, 3 in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae: Vollständige, ungekürzte deutsch-lateinische Ausgabe* 32 (1985), pp. 139–40.

226 *Questiones quodlibetales* II 8, 2, ed. R. Spiazzi (1956), p. 37; translation in Romanus Cessario, "St. Thomas Aquinas on satisfaction, indulgences, and crusades" in *Medieval Philosophy and Theology* 2 (1992), pp. 74–96, here p. 86.

*sollicitudinis*). Therefore, the power to grant indulgences resides fully with the pope, who is able to grant indulgences according to his will, provided that there is a legitimate cause. The powers of the bishops, however, are allotted according to the directions of the pope, and they are able to grant indulgences according to what they have been allotted, but nothing further.<sup>227</sup> In the *Questiones quodlibetales*, Aquinas stated that because the passion of Christ and the saints had been for the benefit of the whole Church,

dispensation of this treasure belongs to the one who is in charge of the whole Church; hence the Lord gave to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven [Matt. 16:19]. Accordingly, when either the well-being or the absolute necessity of the Church requires it, the one who is in charge of the Church can distribute from this unlimited treasure to anyone who through charity belongs to the Church as much of the said treasure as shall seem to him opportune, either up to a total remission of punishment or to some certain amount. In this case, the passion of Christ and of the other saints would be imputed to the member as if he himself would have suffered whatever was required for the remission of his sins, as happens when one person satisfies for another, as has already been explained.<sup>228</sup>

The latter part of the quotation illustrates clearly that the indulgences were still explained as vicarious satisfaction and as payments from the *suffragia* of the Church – but now the *suffragia* were extended infinitely with the merits of Christ. Up until then it had been believed that the merits of the martyrs and saints could help pay the debt of temporal punishments for other members of the Church, but now the vicarious satisfaction of Christ was also called upon. Christian faith had always maintained that the guilt of sin and the punishment for sin had been remitted by the sacrifice of Christ, and now the theologians described how this sacrifice could also be “utilized” for the remission of temporal punishments.<sup>229</sup> Since the value of Christ’s sacrifice is infinite, the treasure is unlimited and inexhaustible. This definitively solved the problem that the Church might not be able to provide enough *suffragia* to compensate for the remitted penances. Thus, a fundamental concern of the theologians in relation

<sup>227</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, ed. cit. pp. 139–40.

<sup>228</sup> *Questiones quodlibetales* II 8, 2 ed. cit. p. 37, translation in Cessario pp. 86–7.

<sup>229</sup> See Paulus II p. 196: “Dass die Theologen sich vor allem auf den unerschöpflichen Schatz der stellvertretenden Genugtuung Christi beriefen, darf nicht wundernehmen; man muss sich vielmehr wundern, dass sie dies nicht schon früher getan haben.”

to the indulgences was solved: indulgences no longer involved the risk of violating the principle that sin must not go unpunished. This had been a major concern for the theologians, and the teaching of the treasury was designed to solve this, as is also evident from the quotation by Hostiensis above, which concludes that when the Church dispenses from the treasury "sin goes not unpunished, because it was punished in the son of God, and by his holy martyrs".<sup>230</sup>

The teaching of the treasury of merits also furthered a shift of balance in the factors that secured the effect of the indulgences. While earlier theologians had emphasized the inner disposition and the performance of the *Ablasswerk* by the recipient, the effect now rested almost exclusively on the powers and the will of the issuer, meaning, ultimately, the powers of the pope. This is most distinctly pronounced in the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who stated that the value of an indulgence and the conditions under which it was effective depended solely on the stipulations set up by the pope.<sup>231</sup> To him, the charity of the recipient was also important, but only because it was necessary that the recipient was in the state of grace and united to the Church through charity, and a member of the body of Christ, in order that he might have a share in the treasure. Neither the amount of devotion, nor the effort which the recipient put into the *Ablasswerk* had an influence on the value of the indulgence according to Aquinas. Therefore the indulgence had exactly the same value for all recipients, that is the value stipulated by the issuer. His contemporaries, Albert the Great and Bonaventure, did not agree on this point, and maintained that there had to be a *iusta aestimatio* between the *Ablasswerk* and the amount of the remission of punishment. Many later theologians have felt as well that the moral disposition of the recipient had to be asserted further, but on the main lines, the theory of Thomas Aquinas has been followed by all subsequent Catholic theologians.<sup>232</sup>

As the treasury of merits was unlimited and as it was no longer a problem that the *suffragia* of the Church might be exhausted by large indulgences, one might have thought that the powers to grant indulgences could have been assigned equally to pope and bishops, since the argument that the bishops could not command over as many vicarious prayers and good deeds as the pope no longer seemed appropriate. On the contrary, however, the teaching of the treasury came to serve a hierarchical ecclesiology and the affirmation of the au-

230 Cf. Paulus II p. 192.

231 *Summa theologia* Suppl. 25, 2, ed. cit. vol. 32 p. 129; *Questiones quodlibetales* II 8, 2, ed. cit. p. 37. The statements of Thomas Aquinas will be discussed in further details below.

232 Poschmann 1948, pp. 93–9; Poschmann 1951, pp. 120–2; Vorgrimler p. 208. See also Maureen Purcell, pp. 43–7.

thority of the pope. It appears that it was especially the mendicant theologians who promoted the teaching on the treasury of merit, and that they did so because it suited their wish to extend and centralize the authority of the Church and pope.<sup>233</sup> The Fourth Lateran Council had already laid down that bishops could only grant indulgences of 40 days, and the theologians of the mid-thirteenth century stressed the authority of the pope in relation to the bishops as they developed the theory of the plenitude of power. One might say that with the teaching of the treasury, the indulgences became an instance of the papal plenitude of power. Also, as remarked by Robert Shaffern, the theology of the treasury “made indulgences a kind of benefice over which pope and bishops could exercise jurisdiction and use to serve the policies of papacy and episcopacy.”<sup>234</sup> It made the indulgences easier to account for and helped shape them into an instrument that could be utilized, for example, for the crusades. Below we will see how the treasury solved a theological problem in the discussion on the crusade indulgences.

### 3.2.6 *The Theologians on the Crusade Indulgences*

The theologians treated the crusade indulgences as an instance of indulgences in general, and what is said of the theology of indulgences above does also apply to the crusade indulgences. As already mentioned, the aid for the Holy Land was listed as one of the worthy causes for granting indulgences by Peter the Chanter and William of Auxerre, and William of Auvergne went on to say that since indulgences were granted for purposes that furthered the common good and the honour of God, they were most fittingly applied for crusades, since the honour of God and the good of the souls, both privately and publicly, depended on this cause in the highest degree.<sup>235</sup> To the latter the objective behind the crusades was clearly not restricted to the Holy Land, for he says that the aim is the “plantation, preservation, amplification, and defence of the Christian religion, whether in Outremer or in Provence or any where else: and this is the cause for which the largest indulgences are granted by the Church

<sup>233</sup> Shaffern 1996, p. 244.

<sup>234</sup> Shaffern 1996, p. 244.

<sup>235</sup> Peter the Chanter, ed. in Gillmann p. 366; William of Auxerre, *Summa aurea* IV p. 351; William of Auvergne, *Opera omnia* I p. 551. See also the anonymous *De relaxationibus* in Hödl p. 341. In the middle of the thirteenth century crusades were also mentioned as a worthy cause for indulgences by Albert the Great, cf. Paulus I p. 274; by Bonaventure, *Commentaria in IV* p. 537; and Alexander of Hales, cf. Paulus p. 282.

for the help for the Holy Land and generally against the enemies of the faith and the Christian religion.”<sup>236</sup>

There was, however, one problem which caused several theologians to address the crusade indulgences in particular. The problem had to do with the explanation of indulgences as commutations or payments from the *suffragia* of the Church, and the possibility of draining these stocks of substituting merits. By this time and up until the first Roman Jubilee in 1300, only the crusade indulgences were plenary.<sup>237</sup> The crusade indulgences put the explanation to the test, because the amount of substituting good deeds of the Church had to be very large if it was to account for a whole army of crusaders. This is the reason why they became the test case and the topic of a recurring *questio* in the theological *summae*.

The question asked was: if a man who had taken the vow to go on crusade died before the Crusade departed, and thus never took part in the campaign, would he then still get the plenary indulgence? He had taken the cross, and the papal bull stated that whoever took the cross would get the plenary indulgence, but was the papal promise valid in this case, when the man had not performed anything himself? Was his intention to go enough to ensure him the redeeming effect? And was the stock of merits in the Church large enough to pay for those who did not perform very much themselves?

*Questiones* were often handed on from schoolmaster to schoolmaster who inherited their topics from their old teachers; this particular *questio* can be traced for generations, and the different solutions to it illustrate the importance of the treasury of merits and the shift of balance from an emphasis on the performance of the recipient to an emphasis on the powers and the will of the pope.

William of Auxerre considered this *questio* in his *Summa aurea* from around 1222–25. The way in which he raises the question is interesting; he asks whether the crusade preachers are right when they claim in their sermons that those who take the cross will have all their sins remitted, and that if they die immediately after taking the cross they will go directly to Heaven.<sup>238</sup> This claim,

236 Guilielmi Alverni p. 551: “... plantatio, conservatio, amplificatio, defensioque Christianae religionis, sive Ultramare, sive in provincia, sive alibi ubicunque: & hec est causa propter quam largissima indulgentiae fiunt ab ecclesia pro subdito terrae sanctae & generaliter contra inimicos fidei & Christianae religionis.”

237 See above chapter 3.1.1: The Emergence of Indulgences.

238 “Obicitur de relaxatione que fit cruce signatis, propter quam multi faciunt expeditionem, quam predicatorum sic exprimunt: Quicumque acceperit crucem ad subsidum terre sancte, dimittuntur ei omnia peccata, ita quod si statim decedat assumpta cruce, statim evolabit.” *Summa aurea* IV. q. 3, p. 357.



which might have been efficient propaganda, was less convincing in theological terms, and William set out by stating that it appeared that this remission would not happen, and that the crusade preachers sinned when they claimed so. William mentioned four arguments for this position, the most important of which are no. 3 and 4. Argument no. 3 is that the Church was like the five wise virgins who brought oil for their own lamps but did not have enough oil for the foolish virgins;<sup>239</sup> in the same way, the Church should not presume to have enough merit for both itself and others and to be able to grant that kind of relaxations. Consequently, the Church was sinning when it presumed to have this power.<sup>240</sup> The argument no. 4 is that it might happen that the Church did not have enough merit for itself. Especially, if a lot of major sinners took the cross, the whole Church would hardly have enough for them or for liberating the crusaders. Consequently, if they died before they had made any part of the pilgrimage themselves, they would not go directly to Heaven because the merits of the Church would not be enough for them.<sup>241</sup> As the *sed contra* arguments, William mentioned first and foremost the plenitude of power of the pope, which made him capable of making this kind of remissions.

William's solution is that "It is not necessary that those who take the cross will go immediately to Heaven if they die, but this indulgence should be understood in the way that this often happens to many. Because, often those who take the cross are prepared to die for Christ and by this intention their contrition is augmented and by this contrition their sins are forgiven."<sup>242</sup> This means that William saw the intention to give one's life for Christ and the contrition of the penitent as the most important factors to secure the indulgence; only if the crusader's contrition was strong enough, could he be sure to have a plenary indulgence in all cases. If he was willing to die for Christ and had truly repented his sins in his heart, this would account for the missing part of the penance. William goes on to say about the papal plenitude of power that the pope does indeed have this power, which means that he can make the crusaders partici-

239 Matt. 25:1–13.

240 "Peccat ergo ecclesia presumendo, cum facit huiusmodi relaxationes." *Summa aurea* IV p. 357.

241 "Si ergo plurimi valde peccatores accipiant crucem, cum tota ecclesia vix sibi sufficiat, non sufficit ergo ad liberationem illorum cruce signatorum; ergo si illi statim decedant, nulla parte peregrinationis facta, non statim evolant, cum merita ecclesie illis non sufficiant." *Summa aurea* IV p. 358.

242 "Dicimus quod non est necesse quod statim, assumpta cruce, evolent, si decedant. Sed illa relaxatio intelligitur ut frequenter in pluribus. Frequenter enim illi qui accipiunt crucem parati sunt mori pro Christo, et in hoc proposito augmentatur [...] in eis contritio et sic per contritionem dimittitur eis pena." *Summa aurea* IV p. 359.

pants in all the *suffragia* of the Church, but he does not have the power to contrive that anybody who owes penance can go to Heaven without his sins having been paid for.<sup>243</sup> It is difficult to see exactly what William meant by this remark, and how much value he assigned to the papal plenitude of power to grant indulgences. On the one hand, he went on to state that a sinner must perform the fruits of penance; but that “doing penance” meant either doing it himself or that the Church did it for him. This argument seems to support the idea that the pope had the power to secure indulgences, also for the crusaders who died before they set out on the expedition. On the other hand, William does not effectively oppose the *pro* arguments for the case that these indulgences were not valid. The usual way of scholastic argumentation was that all arguments were sorted out after the *solutio*, but William only discussed the *sed contra* arguments, and here he claimed that the *contra* arguments to the *pro* arguments no. 3 and 4 were invalid. Therefore, the arguments that the Church might not have enough *suffragia* to make up for the sins of all who took the cross remained unchallenged in this *questio*, and this may well suggest that William held a certain regard for this argument.<sup>244</sup>

Thus, it seems that William of Auxerre had some reservations with regard to the papal power to grant plenary indulgences to crusaders, and that the reason for his reservations was that he was not sure that the stock of merits in the Church was large enough.

The question is also addressed in the anonymous *Questiones diversae theologicae*, written sometime before 1230. This discusses whether the indulgences for those who took the cross against the Albigensians were plenary. The answer is affirmative, even for those who die before they fulfil the journey, on the grounds that they had the will to fulfil.<sup>245</sup> William of Rennes wrote more cautiously in 1241 that, in his opinion, a person who died immediately after taking the cross or before the crusade departed would not get an indulgence that meant that he would avoid all punishment in Purgatory, unless his contrition and devotion were large enough to merit a plenary indulgence. In any case, he added, one has to look at the formula of the indulgence and the intention of the pope in order to settle the question.<sup>246</sup> Bonaventure discussed the question in his commentary on the *Sententiae* c. 1250, but stated that the man who

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243 “... dicimus quod habet hanc potestatem, ut faciat cruce-signatos participes omnium suffragiorum ecclesie; sed non habet hanc potestatem, ut istum qui est pene debitor faciat evolare sine solutione.” *Summa aurea* IV p. 359.

244 See also the discussion by Paulus I p. 235; and Poschmann 1948, p. 79.

245 Paulus I pp. 239–40, the text is partly edited in Gillmann 1915, pp. 472–3.

246 Cited in Paulus pp. 245–6.

took the cross, but died before he fulfilled his promise, would not get a plenary indulgence like the popular preachers claimed. According to Bonaventure, indulgences are granted not for the will alone, but also for the fulfilment of an action. However, the devotion of the one who has given his will alone will also cause him great merit, but not enough for a plenary indulgence. Therefore, anybody who takes the cross will augment his charity and contrition, and thus his punishments will be shortened, but he will not get a plenary indulgence without fulfilling the prescribed action.<sup>247</sup>

Thomas Aquinas answered the same problem of the dead *crucesignatus* in a way that stressed the authority of the pope much more strongly than William of Auxerre and Bonaventure. The question appears in his *Questiones quodlibetales* II 8,2 from around 1270.<sup>248</sup> The same work also contains another question about crusade indulgences in V 7,2: "Whether a crusader who dies on the way across the sea dies in a better state than one who dies on the return trip?"<sup>249</sup> Quodlibetals are reports of actual questions, put by the students for the master to solve, which means that some of Aquinas' students must have asked him these questions about crusaders and indulgences at this time.<sup>250</sup>

Aquinas set up two *pro* arguments for the question II 8,2 "Whether the crusader who dies before he can take the journey across the sea will have the plenary remission of sins?" The first is that it is enough for anyone to receive an indulgence if he fulfils the conditions set up in the papal letter, that is, that he is truly repentant, and that he has confessed his sins, and these conditions are also fulfilled by the one who dies before he assumes the journey. The second *pro* argument affirms that while God only forgives the guilt of sin, the indul-

247 "Ad illud quod quaeritur de illo qui dat sola voluntate, dicendum, quod secundum peritos non habet *totam* indulgentiam, quidquid isti vulgares praedicatores dicant; tamen valet eis tam nobile propositum ad augmentum caritatis et per consequens contritionis, et ita ad remissionem poenae. Indulgentiae enim non intelligentur dari pro *sola voluntate*, sed pro *effectu*; unde qui habet *voluntatem et effectum* indulgentium consequitur; alius, qui habet voluntatem solam, ex devotione habet meritum magnum, licet non *omnimodum* consequatur effectum." Bonaventura, *Opera omnia* IV p. 537. Cf. Paulus I p. 283 the "peritos" might very well be William of Auxerre.

248 *Questiones quodlibetales*, ed. cit. pp. 36–8.

249 *Questiones quodlibetales*, ed. cit. p. 106.

250 The exact dating of *De quodlibet* II has not been settled, but varies from 1269–1272. Cesario pp. 80–1 suggests that it was held at Christmas time 1270 and that the question was brought about by recent events; the French king Louis IX had taken the cross in 1267, but died on his way to Egypt in Tunis in the summer of 1270. This may have been the reason why the students brought it up, but as we have shown above, the question had a long history by then, and it served as a vehicle for making some general points about indulgences.

gences by the pope refer to the remission of all punishments for sin. According to the papal document the one who takes the cross will not suffer punishments for his sins, and therefore he will go to Heaven immediately.

Both these arguments are juridical and argue by the letter of the papal decrees, and as observed by Romanus Cessario, "The two arguments clearly consider the punishment due to sin as a juridical reality over which the pope holds authority in the same way that an appellate judge can commute the sentence meted out to a convicted prisoner."<sup>251</sup> They do not consider the punishment for sin under the moral-theological aspect of punishment as a medicine for the soul that is necessary for its recovery, but see it as a debt of penalty, which can be sorted out when the Church supplies the proper legal formality. As we have seen, it was a problem for the earlier theologians that the punishment due for sin was regarded not only as a penalty, but also as a medicine for the soul, and to explain how the indulgences were not in contradiction to any of these aspects. In the first of the two *sed contra* arguments Aquinas actually addresses this problem. He invokes the Augustinian teaching of sin as a deformation of the image of God, and quotes him from *De Trinitate* 15: "that to take out the arrow is not the same as to heal the wound." Accordingly, the arrow of sin is removed by the remission of sins, but the restoration of the image of God can only be accomplished by the penitential works. The dead *crucesignatus* has done none of these healing penitential works, and therefore he will not enter glory immediately, but has to suffer in Purgatory first. The second *sed contra* argument is an argument *ad absurdum*, that arises from the confusing vocabulary of the formula of indulgences used since Innocent III (referred to above), which speaks of "remission of sin", and which may cause confusion with the forgiveness of all sins granted by the priest after confession in the sacrament of reconciliation.<sup>252</sup> The argument is that if the dead crusader goes directly to Heaven, then, accordingly, all who receive absolutions from any priest would do the same, "and this is absurd."<sup>253</sup>

In his solution to the question, Aquinas first stated the principle of vicarious satisfaction and the treasury of merits as the basis for the indulgences. These statements about the treasury and the pope as the rightful administrator of it have been quoted above.

Then, Aquinas went on to state the conditions for a valid and effective indulgence: 1) It had to serve a worthy cause, a cause pertaining to the honour of God, or the necessity or utility of the Church. 2) The issuer of the indulgence

<sup>251</sup> Cessario p. 84.

<sup>252</sup> For a different interpretation see Cessario pp. 84–5.

<sup>253</sup> "quod est inconveniens" *Questiones quodlibetales*, ed. cit. p. 37.

had to have the authority to actually do so; this meant that he had to be the pope or a person to whom the pope had delegated this authority. 3) The person who received the indulgence had to be in the state of charity.

And these three things are designated in the papal letter. For the appropriate cause is designated in that one is sent forth to help the Holy Land; the authority, in that mention is made of the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of the pope himself; charity, in the recipient, in that it is said "to all truly sorry and confessed." It does not say, "and to those who have satisfied," because the indulgence does not excuse from contrition and confession, but it does take the place of satisfaction.<sup>254</sup>

Again, Aquinas argued juridically that when the conditions of canon law and the papal letter were fulfilled, then the indulgence was effective. The crusade was a worthy cause, pertaining to the honour of God and the utility of the Church; it was proclaimed by the pope, and if the recipient had truly repented, confessed his sins and taken the vow he had also fulfilled his part of the requirements. He concludes:

So, for the question proposed: if according to the provisions of the papal document the indulgence is granted to those taking the cross for a military expedition to the Holy Land, the crusader immediately gains the indulgence, even if he should die before he actually leaves for the crusade. In this case of course, the condition for the indulgence remains a vow to go and not the actual undertaking itself. If, on the other hand, in the phrasing of the document it is stipulated that the indulgence should be given to those who actually cross the sea, then the one who dies before he makes the crossing has not fulfilled the condition for the indulgence.<sup>255</sup>

The crucial factor was the conditions set up in the crusading bull, and whether these were met, rather than whether the dead crusader had himself had an opportunity to atone for his sin or heal the wounds of his soul. This only mattered if it was stipulated as a condition in the bull. The effect of the indulgence rested on the authority of the pope as the head of the Church and keeper of the treasury. In the response to the *sed contra* arguments, Aquinas does however return to the question of the healing effect of penances, and states that satisfaction is both punitive and medicinal (*medicativa*), and that indulgences only

<sup>254</sup> *Questiones quodlibetales*, ed. cit. p. 37, translation from Cessario p. 88.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

take the place of satisfaction in its punitive aspect by way of vicarious satisfaction. It does not take the place of satisfaction in its medicinal aspect, and therefore, the man who had taken the cross and still lived should be advised to keep on doing his penance. The reason for this precaution was not, however, as we saw it with the earlier theologians, that the effect of the indulgence might be uncertain, but that the penitential exercises were a cure that guarded against repeated sin. This becomes clear from the following explanation that this did not apply to the dying crusader, because he did not need to be prevented from committing future sins. In the account Thomas Aquinas gives here, the medicinal effect of penances was first of all a sensible precaution against the proneness to sinning, not something that was demanded absolutely.<sup>256</sup>

As is so often the case with scholastic argumentation, the way to fully appreciate the opinion of an author is to look at what items from the traditional stockpile of arguments he does *not* use, and the central point of Thomas Aquinas' position becomes clearer when we compare it to the discussion by William of Auxerre. The latter found that the contrition of the crusader was the most important factor to secure the effect of the indulgence, and argued that the readiness to die for Christ augmented the contrition of the crusader to the point that he would go immediately to Heaven when he died. In fact, we might say that with William of Auxerre, the willingness to die for Christ dealt with both the punitive and medicinal effect of the penance, and immediately restored him to the image of God. This was not the way William put it himself, and maybe he would not have thought of the indulgences in these terms, but this argument must have presented itself to Thomas Aquinas.<sup>257</sup> He, however, chose to emphasize the authority of the pope and the juridical conditions for gaining part of the treasury. To him, the warrant of the effect was not based on the performance of good works or remorse by the recipient. The recipient still had to be repentant in order to be worthy of receiving an indulgence, but his repentance only constituted the condition for gaining it. The effect of it rested on the stock of merits, possessed by the Church and administered by the pope.

Again, the opinion of Thomas Aquinas was not unchallenged in his own day, but we may conclude this discussion by noting that with the treasury of merits, the indulgences became easier to administer as an instrument, because they

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<sup>256</sup> See *Questiones quodlibetales*, ed. cit. p. 37.

<sup>257</sup> Thomas Aquinas most probably knew the arguments of William of Auxerre and his *Summa aurea*, since this book was widely used by the lecturers on theology and served as a textbook for the Dominicans, including Thomas Aquinas himself, cf. Hödl p. 365, Paulus 1 p. 231 n. 1; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 10 (2001), col. 1173.

were regarded as depending on objective criteria: the will of the pope as stated in papal bulls, and legal principles laid down in canon law. The subjective criteria of the individual deeds and disposition of the recipient were no longer as important. Also, with an infinite treasury of merits, it was no longer a problem to grant plenary indulgences to many people as the popes continued to do for crusades in the thirteenth century, and which in the year 1300 found a new object: the jubilees. Nor was it any longer necessary to ask the ultimate sacrifice in return for a plenary indulgence. Thus, the treasury also provided a theological justification for the extension of the plenary indulgences to classes of people who did not go on crusade personally, but sent a substitute or money instead. These indulgences had already been given by Innocent III, but they became more common during the thirteenth century with the less restrictive policy on the redemption of vows.<sup>258</sup>

### 3.2.7 *The Theologian Crusaders*

Some of the theologians discussed above were also active in the organisation and preaching of crusades. Alain of Lille preached in connection to the Third Crusade in 1189,<sup>259</sup> while Peter of Capua was appointed legate for the preparation of the Fourth Crusade in France in 1198–1200 by Innocent III,<sup>260</sup> and as already mentioned, Robert of Courson was so appointed for the preparation of the Fifth Crusade in 1213. Both Robert of Courson and Jacques de Vitry preached the crusades, and it is possible that Stephen Langton joined Robert on a preaching tour in Flanders in 1213 and that the preaching here also involved crusades.<sup>261</sup>

<sup>258</sup> Brundage 1969, p. 131–8; cf. below chapter 4.1: The crusade indulgence as a privilege.

<sup>259</sup> See Matthew Phillips, “The Thief’s Cross: Crusade and Penance in Alan of Lille’s *Sermo de Cruce domini*” in *Crusades* 5 (2006), pp. 143–56. Very few facts about the life of Alain are known for certain, but he appears to have been involved in preaching and mission to the Cathars in Languedoc in the 1180–90s; see *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, ed. Marie-Thérèse d’Alverny (1965), pp. 11–29, 143. His sermon is discussed below in chapter 6.1.

<sup>260</sup> *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6 (1999), col. 1966f. There were two Peters of Capua, both of them theologians and cardinals.

<sup>261</sup> Matthew Paris reports in his *Vita Sancti Stephani Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis* (in *MGH Scriptores* xxviii p. 442) that Langton preached against the heretic *Bugaros*, and that he joined Robert of Courson on a campaign against usury. See M. & C. Dickson p. 82; despite chronological problems, Baldwin finds that it is possible that Langton joined Robert of Courson in Flanders in the spring of 1213, see Baldwin 1970, vol. 1 p. 27 and vol. 11 p. 12 n. 40.

The itinerary of Robert of Courson in France and the Low Countries during 1213–15 has been fairly well reconstructed.<sup>262</sup> The purpose of his mission is attested in papal sources; he was commissioned and admonished by Innocent III to “preach the word of the cross and to urge the faithful to avenge the offence against the crucified one” in the letter *Pium et sanctum*, which was sent out to a long list of individual preachers and prelates all over Europe, and we also know of a letter in which he is authorised to grant indulgences to those who took the cross.<sup>263</sup> The *Hystoria Albigensis* relates that Robert assumed his legation in France with the sole intention of promoting the crusade to the Holy Land, and that he therefore made those preachers who worked for the crusade against the Albigensian Cathars give up this task, and work for the cause of the Holy Land instead. In 1214 he did, however, become involved in the crusade against the Albigensians, although this cause continued to be of secondary importance to him.<sup>264</sup> Another theologian who had committed himself to fight the Cathar movement was Praepositinus, who had been a missionary among the Albigensians in the first half of the 1190s.<sup>265</sup>

The sermons of Robert of Courson have not been handed down, but a chronicle reports that when Robert preached he signed a great number of people with the cross indiscriminately, and that this actually impeded the cause of the cross, because when he recruited children, old people, women, invalids, plus the blind, deaf, and leprous, it only made many rich people refuse to take the cross on the grounds that this confusion seemed to hinder the safety of the Holy Land.<sup>266</sup> Robert of Courson also took an active part in the Fifth Crusade; in 1218, Pope Honorius III put him in charge of the preaching during the campaign, and in September 1218, he set out to join the crusaders in Egypt where he died at Damietta the following year.<sup>267</sup>

Also at Damietta was Jacques de Vitry, who had been appointed bishop of Acre in 1216 by Pope Honorius, with the assignment to prepare the Orient for the crusade, and to preach in Palestine. Earlier, in 1213, he had been commissioned by the papal legate Raymond of Uzès to preach the crusades against the Albigensians in France and Lotharingia, and was later commissioned to preach the

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262 By M. & C. Dickson pp. 85–116.

263 PL 216: 822–3 and 827.

264 M. & C. Dickson pp. 90, 99, 101, 110.

265 Hödl p. 273.

266 The chronicle of William Brito, cf. M. & C. Dickson p. 112; see also Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Cross to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (1991), p. 128.

267 M. & C. Dickson pp. 130–4.



crusade to the Holy Land, possibly by Robert of Courson.<sup>268</sup> Two crusade model sermons by Jacques de Vitry are actually extant, and since they served as models for other preachers we may deduce that the ideas in them were heard by a large number of people.<sup>269</sup>

In these sermons, the indulgences play a very prominent role, and they are pointed out as a primary reason why people should take the cross. The indulgences are described as an immense reward for a modest labour, and the taking of the cross is described as a real bargain (*bonum forum*).<sup>270</sup> Jacques de Vitry assures his audience that

those crusaders who prepare themselves for the service of God, truly confessed and contrite, are considered true martyrs if they die in the service of Christ, freed from venial and also mortal sins, from all the penitence in this world and the punishment of purgatory in the next, safe from the tortures of hell, in the glory and honour of being crowned in eternal beatitude.<sup>271</sup>

The conditions for obtaining the indulgence are confession and contrition, as was consistently stated by the theologians and the papal crusading bulls, but the reference to martyrdom is perhaps less orthodox; the official Church had always been reluctant to declare the dead crusaders as martyrs, and the papal crusading bulls never promised the fate of martyrs for the crusaders.<sup>272</sup> The meaning is of course that the crusaders will go directly to Heaven when they die, and Jacques assures that this will happen both for those who die on the crusade and for those who survive and serve their term.<sup>273</sup>

His interpretation of the plenary nature of the crusade indulgence is liberal when he includes not only the wives and children in the benefits in as much as

<sup>268</sup> John Frederick Hinnebusch: "Introduction" to Jacques de Vitry: *Historia Occidentalis*, pp. 3–31.

<sup>269</sup> The two model sermons for the crusades by Jacques de Vitry have survived in at least 15 manuscripts. They have been printed in J.B. Pitra: *Analecta novissima spicilegi Solesmensis, altera continuatio* II (1888), pp. 421–30, and in slightly different versions in Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology. Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (2000), pp. 82–127; see also Cole 1991, pp. 132–9, and below chapter 6.1: Preachers and sermons.

<sup>270</sup> Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 114, 118.

<sup>271</sup> Translation in Maier 2000, p. 113 (with the alteration of *if they die* instead of *while they are* for *dum in Christo servitio moriuntur*).

<sup>272</sup> See below chapters 5.4. and 6.1.

<sup>273</sup> Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 112, 114.

they contribute to the expenses, but also the deceased parents of crusaders. Jacques states that crusaders can help their deceased parents if they take the cross with the intention of helping them. Indulgences for the dead were a disputed topic,<sup>274</sup> but Jacques de Vitry justifies their effect by referring to the belief that the dead could be helped by alms and good works; he asks, “what greater alms are there but to offer oneself and one’s belongings to God and pledge one’s soul to Christ.”<sup>275</sup> Also the fact that the deceased parents had left their goods to the crusader and thereby contributed to his ability to fulfil the journey seems to have played a role in Jacques’ assessment of indulgences for the dead.

Jacques de Vitry also touches upon the question of the indulgences for those who took the cross, but died before they could fulfil the vow. He states that the Lord has rewarded “many who took the cross out of devotion with a contrite heart and pledged themselves to the Lord by a solemn vow, even though they were prevented by death, since it was not through any fault of their own.”<sup>276</sup> Their “holy will” to undertake this journey counts as the deed, and they will not be deprived of the reward. Jacques supports this with quotations from Scripture (Ecclesiasticus 20:12; Wisdom 4:7,13), but he does not go into the theological discussion of the contrition of the crusader versus the powers of the pope, which would not be suitable for a popular sermon. For him, the argument serves as proof that the reward does not depend on the outcome of the crusade, and whether the Holy Land is actually won for Christendom. This was an important point to make at a time when Jerusalem had been out of Christian hands since 1187, and efforts to reconquer it had been without success. But failure did not mean that God did not reward the crusaders; in fact, many had been saved by going on crusade who would have remained in sin if God had chosen to liberate the Holy Land by his almighty powers in the first place. In this way, Jacques de Vitry alludes to a theme that had been used in crusade sermons at least since Bernard of Clairvaux: the idea of the crusade as a test and an opportunity to win indulgence, invented by God for the salvation of men. We will return to this theme in later chapters. Jacques returns briefly to the question later in the same sermon and states “But if those who are signed with the cross are prevented by death, they send (*mittunt*) that which they would have had to take with them as a subsidy to the Holy Land.”<sup>277</sup> This may

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274 See Robert W. Shaffern, “Learned Discussions of Indulgences for the Dead in the Middle Ages” in *Church History* 61 (1992), pp. 367–81.

275 Ed. Maier 2000, p. 112.

276 Ed. Maier 2000, p. 116.

277 Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 122/123.

well mean that he saw this sending of subsidies as a condition for the effect of the indulgence, and in this case the dead *cruce signatus* did give something in return for his reward.

According to these sermons the crusade also brings spiritual advantages to those who are not able to go on crusade themselves. Jacques speaks of the indulgences for sending a substitute and for giving alms to the crusade, and his sermons thus reflect the broadening of indulgences also to non-combatants instituted in the crusading bulls of Innocent III. In particular, he points out that there is an indulgence just for hearing a crusade sermon. This is of 20 or 40 days of the penance "which does them much good in purgatory after death, when they would have wished to have given a great treasure for just one single hour of remission, if it were possible."<sup>278</sup>

While the crusade is presented as instituted by God as an offer to win merit, it is also clear in Jacques' sermons that the indulgences are granted by the pope, and that the pope does so by the power of the keys, which were given to him by God.<sup>279</sup> The pope grants plenary indulgences for crusades "remitting everything altogether like a minister of God who does not want to be greedy where the Lord is generous."<sup>280</sup> This means that the decision to grant plenary indulgences for crusades is for the pope to make; he could choose to be less generous or not to be generous at all. But when he grants the plenary indulgence for crusades he is in concordance with the will of God and his great plan for the crusades.

Jacques de Vitry is being unmistakeably clear about the transcendental effect of the indulgence, and he takes every opportunity to say that it has an effect both in this life and in the next. To take the vow to go on crusade is to put on the sign of salvation, the cross, which is the key to Paradise and a Jacob's ladder to Heaven.<sup>281</sup> The crusade vow leads to salvation precisely because of the indulgence, which is the full remission of sins here and now, and eternal life in the future.<sup>282</sup> In an *exemplum* Jacques tells about a man who hid in a loft when Jacques came to town to preach the crusade, because the man's wife did not want him to be signed, but when he accidentally heard the sermon anyway, he was persuaded by the offer of the plenary indulgence.

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., pp. 86, 106, 108.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

When he heard that through the properties of the cross and without any other penitence people received such a great indulgence as people mostly do not obtain who fast and wear a hairshirt for sixty years and that nothing less than the whole may be remitted [...] when he also heard that for the labour of a short time the penance in this world and the punishment in purgatory were remitted, the punishment of hell avoided and the kingdom of heaven gained, he was full of remorse [...] and jumped out into the crowd and was the first to come to the cross.<sup>283</sup>

Even though the story in this *exemplum* may be a piece of fiction, it nevertheless shows how important Jacques de Vitry regarded the crusade indulgence as a means of recruiting crusaders. These popular sermons also testify to his theology of indulgences, even if he simplified it a little in comparison with his learned sermon on the power of the keys (referred to above) in which he stated that no one can know for certain how great the value of the indulgence will be in Purgatory, because it depends on the devotion of both the recipient and those who pray as *suffragantium*. That it does have an effect in Purgatory, however, he also stated quite clearly in this sermon.<sup>284</sup>

### 3.2.8 Conclusions

The discussion on the indulgences began with the newly emerging theological scholarship of the twelfth century. This also formulated the concepts and distinctions that formed the basis for the definition and analysis of how the indulgences worked. These distinctions were those between eternal and temporal punishments and between guilt and punishment, which, as we have seen, are also fundamental to the modern definition of indulgences. Together with a more definite concept of Purgatory, these distinctions spelled out the concept of temporal punishments as the object of the indulgences. From the outset, however, these sets of distinctions belonged to two different outlooks on the theology of penances, that of Peter Abelard and his followers, and that of the Victorines. It was only the later scholastic theologians who combined these concepts into a framework that resembles the high scholastic and modern one, which distinguishes very clearly between the objects of the absolution and of the indulgence (see the chart on page 12). In the first half of the twelfth century, the distinctions were held by two different schools, and this underlines

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>284</sup> Iacobi de Vitriaco, *Sermones* pp. 418–9: “in Purgatorio diminuitur tamen eius poena, sed certam diminutionis ignoramus quantitatem. Et ita manifestum est, quod prodest ei relaxatio huiusmodi, & idcirco Deus approbat huiusmodi relaxationes in foro suo.”

our point that this framework should not be projected back onto the eleventh- and early twelfth-century ideas of penances, of God's additional punishments in "Purgatory", and of how these were remitted.

With the distinction between guilt and punishments, it also became apparent that the term *remissio peccatorum* could be used in different senses. Abelard thus remarked that the word 'sin' could be used also in the sense of penalties, "in this sense we say that sin is forgiven, that is, the penalty is pardoned".<sup>285</sup> Many of the early scholastic theologians pointed out that the remission of sins could have more meanings, i.e. both the remission of temporal punishments, as in the indulgences for penances, and the forgiveness of the guilt for sin, as granted in the sacramental absolution. Meanwhile, the theologians also developed the theology on the sacraments, and it became important to establish how and when divine grace was bestowed in the sacraments, and also to distinguish which institutions were sacramental and which were not. William of Auxerre summed up much of this discussion, and stated that the remission of sins means two things: forgiveness *quantum ad culpam* and *quantum ad penam*. The remission of penalties further had two meanings, i.e. of the temporal and of the eternal punishments. The remission of guilt as well as the remission of eternal punishment was effected by the operation of God's grace alone. The remission of temporal punishments, however, was obtained by human merit.<sup>286</sup> Here we see the outline of the conceptual framework behind the mature theory of indulgences which is depicted in the chart on page 12, and it is clear how this could support the distinctions of the nature of the absolution and the indulgences; the former was effected by grace in the sacraments, the latter by merit. That the indulgences should not be confused with the sacramental absolution, even though they were called 'remission of sins', was also pointed out by Thomas Aquinas, as we saw in relation to the meaning of the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council.

The problem which the twelfth-century theologians had to solve in relation to the indulgences was how to be sure that God agreed to the remission of penances, so that the penalties were not just transferred to purgatorial

<sup>285</sup> "iuxta quod dicimus peccatum dimitti, hoc est, penam condonari," *Ethica* pp. 56/57.

<sup>286</sup> "Duplex est remissio peccatorum, scilicet quantum ad culpam et quantum ad penam. Remissio peccatorum quantum ad penam duplex scilicet quantum ad penam eternam et quantum ad temporalem. 1. Remissio peccatorum quantum ad culpam et penam eternam est effectus gratie immediatus, et ponenda est in justificatione impii secundo loco, quoniam solus Deus operatur eam in homine per solam gratiam, non per hominis meritum [...] 2. Remissio autem peccatorum quantum ad penam temporalem ex merito hominis est", *Summa Aurea*, L. 3, tr. 10, c. 1, q. 2, ed. Jean Ribailier (1986), pp. 118–9. Cf. Paulus 1 pp. 255–8; Rydström-Poulsen p. 465.

punishments; that is, how to ensure that they had a transcendental effect. The writings of Peter Abelard illustrate this and express the fundamental questions: are penances absolutely necessary to the process of justification, or do the bishops have the power to remit penances before God? According to Abelard, they did not; if the bishops shortened the penances below measure the sinners would only have to endure much harder punishments on the Day of Judgement. Thus, the indulgences had, so to speak, negative transcendental effects. This was why Abelard denied the use of them.

This theological outlook continued to shape much of the discussion even after the attempts to find positive arguments for the indulgences had been initiated by Peter the Chanter in the 1190s. The problem was to ensure that the remissions of penances were valid before God, and to what extent.<sup>287</sup> In this period, the most common way to find a basis for them was to explain how the remitted penances could be compensated by the works of the recipient himself, and of the Church as a community. The theologians clearly regarded the indulgences as being on the lines of the familiar redemptions and commutations of the penitential system. The problem of finding enough compensation – as well as the concern that the obtaining of indulgences might harm the penitence of the receivers – caused the theologians to recommend that people did their penance even if they had obtained an indulgence, and to prefer that indulgences were administered individually and not generally. This would of course have altered the institution profoundly – if not made it impractical – and the Fourth Lateran Council did not follow the theologians on this point.

The teaching of the treasury of merits solved the problem of finding enough compensation, but this teaching – that the penances are paid for by the merits stored in the infinite treasury – also shows that the indulgences were still basically regarded as commutations. However, the indulgences now became an instance of the papal plenitude of power, and were depending on objective criteria stated by the issuer rather than the dispositions of the individual recipients. According to this teaching, the Church could furthermore assign the merits of the treasury authoritatively, and thus the Church actually gained a form of jurisdiction over the punishments in Purgatory. Until then, the indulgences had chiefly had a deprecativ character, and the transcendental effect had been a matter of intercession and of pious hope that God would agree to the remission of penances and grant a corresponding remission in Purgatory.

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287 Cf. e.g. Stephen Langton: "Ideo consultius dici potest ecclesiam hanc habere potestatem, ut quantamlibet iniuncte penitentiae partem relaxaret, id est relaxatam esse aput deum ostendat." Ed. Gillmann p. 372; Anonymous, *De relaxationibus*: "... quod teneant istae relaxationes quantum ad Deum." Ed. Hödl p. 341.

With the treasury of merits, however, they became a matter of jurisdiction, and they came to be perceived as direct remissions of purgatorial punishments.<sup>288</sup>

Moreover, with the developed theology of indulgences, the theologians were finally able to explain just how the crusaders won their spiritual merit. That the participation in crusades was a meritorious deed had been believed all along, but now the theologians were able to understand and explain how it worked.

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288 As also stated by Poschmann, cf. 1951, pp. 86–7: “Von anfang an wurde der Ablass unter dem Gesichtspunkt seiner transzendenten Wirkung gewertet [...] Die Entwicklung ging also nicht vom Nachlass der Kirchenbusse zum Nachlass der Fegfeuerstrafe, sondern umgekehrt [...] Richtig ist jedoch dies, dass man damals begann, den Ablass direkt als Nachlass der zeitlichen Sündenstrafen überhaupt anstatt als Nachlass der auferlegten Busse zu bezeichnen und ihn direkt als Nachlass der Fegfeuerstrafe hinzustellen.”

## Institutional Development

### 4.1 The Crusade Indulgence as a Privilege

The indulgences were part of the privileges granted to crusaders in order to make them go, to protect their interests while on crusade, and to give them proper rewards for their toil. The privileges can be divided into the spiritual and the temporal privileges; quoting James A. Brundage, the spiritual are “those which pertained principally or solely to the crusader’s *status animae*”, and the temporal are “those which pertained largely or solely to the crusader’s condition in this world.”<sup>1</sup> The spiritual privileges were first of all the indulgences, but during the history of the crusading movement, other privileges belonging to this category were invented. These included release from the spiritual censure of excommunication, which began in the early thirteenth century as a favour granted only in individual cases, but by the time of Gregory IX, it had become part of the standard privileges received by all crusaders. The privilege of dealing with excommunicates, without getting automatically banned oneself, also had its origins in the early thirteenth century. Other spiritual privileges were the right to choose a personal confessor, the release from other vows when taking the cross, and the reception of the benefits of the prayers and suffrages offered by the members of the Church for the deliverance of the Holy Land and of the crusaders who fought for it.<sup>2</sup>

The temporal privileges included a protected status for the crusader, his family and possessions, which meant that they were under the protection of the Church in the same way as pilgrims had been for generations.<sup>3</sup> These privileges were probably laid down already by Urban II and the council at Clermont. They are not mentioned in the *Liber Lamberti* text of the canons of the council, but two of the variant texts of the decrees declare that both persons and possessions of the crusaders were to be under the Truce of God.<sup>4</sup> At any rate, the protection of property was mentioned in 1099 by Urban’s successor Paschal II, who referred to a decision by Urban “in a synodal decree”.<sup>5</sup> This might indeed

1 Definition in Brundage 1969, p. 144.

2 Brundage 1969, pp. 144–5, 155–8.

3 Brundage 1969, pp. 12–4, 161.

4 Printed in Somerville pp. 108 and 124; cf. also Brundage 1969, p. 161.

5 Brundage 1969, p. 165; Hagenmeyer pp. 174–5.



have been a decree from the council of Clermont, but at least it may be concluded that the privilege of protection of property was in effect from 1099. The crusader also enjoyed the right to be judged at ecclesiastical courts, and to have his cases postponed while on crusade, or at least for one year as was laid down by Innocent III in 1215. In addition, the crusader was granted reasonable terms for raising cash for his journey; he had the right to mortgage lands and even fiefs, to a moratorium on the repayment of debts, and he was released from the payment of interests. These privileges were first mentioned in papal crusading bulls in *Quantum praedecessores* by Eugenius III in 1145.

The crusader received the privileges and the special status when he "took the cross", that is, made a solemn vow to go on crusade. As a sign of this status he was given a cross of cloth to sew onto his clothes. The crusaders were given crosses already for the First Crusade, but it is not clear when and how quickly this usage of taking the cross developed into a formal ceremony. The chronicle of Robert of Rheims asserts that at Clermont Pope Urban II instructed anyone who vowed to take part in the crusade to carry a cross on his front or breast on the way to the Holy Land, and to put it between his shoulder blades on his way home when he had fulfilled his vow. There are also other sources which attest that the first crusaders made vows and took crosses.<sup>6</sup> However, there is no description of an actual formal ceremony for taking the cross at this time. The statutes of the First Lateran Council in 1123 and the bulls of Eugenius III from 1145 and 1147 referred to the crusaders as those who had taken crosses, but they still do not mention an actual ceremony.<sup>7</sup> We may assume that the handing out of crosses involved a ritual and a liturgy, but it is not until the 1170s and 80s that this becomes evident in the sources. The earliest extant ritual is from the last half of the twelfth century.<sup>8</sup> Nor was the formal status of the crusaders described in canon law until the early thirteenth century – about the same time as the term *crucesignatus* appears to have been first used officially and regularly to denote crusaders by the papacy.<sup>9</sup>

6 Roberti Monachi in RHC Oc. III pp. 729–30; cf. also Baldric in RHC Oc. VI p. 16; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* in RHC Oc. III p. 121; letter of Archbishop Simeon and Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy at Antioch 1097, in Hagenmeyer p. 142.

7 Ed. Alberigo p. 168; PL 180: 1065, 1204.

8 James A. Brundage, "Cruce signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England" in *Traditio* 22 (1966), pp. 289–310; Kenneth Pennington, "The Rite for Taking the Cross in the Twelfth Century" in *Traditio* 30 (1974), pp. 429–35; Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage" in *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), pp. 157–65.

9 Brundage 1969, p. 65; Markowski 1984, p. 160.

The indulgence was the most important among the privileges granted to crusaders, and also the one whose history can be traced back the farthest. During the course of our period, the application of the spiritual privilege of the crusade indulgence was extended to a growing range of purposes and a growing range of recipients. It was also extended to wider circles of geographical areas. From the beginning, it was granted to expeditions in the Holy Land as well as in Spain; in fact, from the viewpoint of the spiritual privileges, it appears that the campaigns in Spain were an integrated part of the crusading movement from the very beginning. After all, the earliest known papal grant of what could reasonably be termed an indulgence was given by Alexander II in 1063 for the campaign against the Moors in Spain. As we saw in chapter 2.3 above, Urban II himself granted spiritual privileges for the campaigns in Spain. In 1100, Paschal II, who took over the responsibility for the First Crusade when Urban II died in the summer of 1099, granted the same spiritual privileges to crusaders in Spain as to those who went to Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup>

The geographical scope of the crusades was, however, broadened by the time of the Second Crusade when the expeditions against the pagan Slavs, living north of the Elbe, were granted crusade privileges. The bull *Divini dispensatione* of Eugenius III from 1147 for this Wendish Crusade expressly stated that this enterprise would receive the same indulgence as the one Urban II had instituted for the expedition for Jerusalem, and that the campaign against the Wends was part of the same fight against the enemies of Christendom as the fight in the Holy Land and in Spain.<sup>11</sup> The crusades against the pagan Slavonic peoples in Northeastern Europe and in the Baltic region continued into the fifteenth century, and were granted privileges by successive popes.<sup>12</sup> In our period, Alexander III granted an indulgence of one year to those who fought against the Estonians in 1171 or 1172, and added a plenary indulgence for those who died on this expedition.<sup>13</sup> Innocent III granted indulgences for crusades against the Livonians in 1199 and against the Estonians in 1209 and 1215, but in contrast to Eugenius III, he does not seem to have equalled them exactly to the indulgences he granted for the Holy Land since they were not plenary.<sup>14</sup>

10 PL 163: 45. On this see now O'Callaghan pp. 24–6, 35.

11 *Pommersches Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, pp. 36–7; PL 180: 1203.

12 On these crusades, see Ane L. Bysted, Carsten Selch Jensen, Kurt Villads Jensen and John H. Lind, *Jerusalem in the North. Denmark and the Baltic Crusades 1100–1522* (2012); Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147–1254* (2007); Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (1980).

13 PL 200: 861a.

14 *Diplomatarium Danicum*, eds. A. Afzelius et al. In progress (1938ff.) (hereafter cited as DD) 1: 3 no. 254 (PL 214: 739); DD 1: 4 nos 162, 163 (PL 216: 116, 118); DD 1: 5 no. 61. See also Fonnesberg-Schmidt pp. 94–8, 111–3, 128–31.

The second half of the twelfth century also saw a growing concern about the heretical movements, especially in the Languedoc, and these were dealt with at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. Canon 27 of this council granted indulgences to those who took up arms against the Albigensian Cathars in Languedoc; two years for all who fought, and a plenary indulgence for those who died.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the crusade privileges were applied inside Christian Western Europe on a conflict that was going on for decades, even though it did not turn into actual war until after the assassination of the papal legate Peter of Castelnau in 1208, when the measures taken by the Church were intensified and the Catholic princes responded more willingly. Innocent III granted numerous privileges for the French princes and for the French king on this matter; in 1198, he granted an indulgence of one year for all who fought against these heretics. In 1204, he promised a plenary indulgence, though apparently not as plenary as the one for fighting for the Holy Land, since the letters equal it to the indulgence for sending subsidies there. Again in 1205, 1207, 1208, and 1209, Innocent granted indulgences for the fight against the Albigensians, though still not phrased in the same way as the Holy Land indulgences.<sup>16</sup>

The crusade privileges were also employed for military expeditions against the political enemies of the papacy. The earliest example is from 1128, when Honorius II granted remissions of sins to those who fought against Count Roger of Sicily, who supported the antipope Anaclet II.<sup>17</sup> These sanctions were repeated by Innocent II and the council in Pisa in 1135, which laid down that this was to be the same remission as the one granted by Urban II and the council at Clermont for those who fought for the liberation of Christendom in Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> Thus, the employment of crusade privileges for political objectives was a relatively early development. It might be true, however, that the political crusades had been forgotten by the turn of the twelfth century, and that they "came as a novelty to contemporaries"<sup>19</sup> when Innocent III began to proclaim them. Innocent III used crusade privileges against his political adversaries as early as the second year of his pontificate, starting with a proclamation against

15 Alberigo pp. 200–1.

16 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, eds. O. Hageneder et al. In progress (1964ff.) (hereafter cited as Reg. See also below note 86) 1198: Reg. 1 no. 94 (PL 214: 81–3). 1204: Reg. 7 nos 77, 79 (PL 215: 358–60, 361–2). 1205: Reg. 7 no. 212 (PL 215: 526–8). 1207–08: Reg. 10 no. 149; Reg. 11 nos 25, 26, 153, 154 (PL 215: 1246–8, 1354–8, 1358–9, 1469–70, 1470–1). 1209: Reg. 11 no. 224 (PL 215: 1545–6); PL 216: 99, 152, 153, 156, 158–60, 160.

17 PL 173: 1199.

18 E. Bernheim: "Ein bisher unbekannter Bericht vom Concil zu Pisa im Jahr 1135" in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* XVI (1881), pp. 147–54, pp. 150–1.

19 Morris 1989, p. 484.

Markwald of Anweiler, the Hohenstaufen marquis of Ancona, who was opposing Innocent's claims to overlordship in Sicily.<sup>20</sup>

The spiritual privilege was not only applied to different types of crusades during the twelfth century, it was also extended to different categories of recipients for different kinds of contributions. Originally, the indulgences were only granted to those who personally took the cross and set out on the expedition, or at least had a sincere intention of doing so and were only prevented by death, but from about the time of the Third Crusade, indulgences were regularly granted also for spending alms for the cause of the crusade. An actual indulgence for sending subsidies to the Holy Land is mentioned for the first time in a letter from Clement III to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1188, but here the pope refers to the precedence of his predecessor Gregory VIII.<sup>21</sup> Such an indulgence is not mentioned in Pope Gregory's bull from October 1187, *Audita tremendi*, which we know in its full length, but it might have been included in a second bull by him, *Cum divina patientia*, of which only the first part is known from the narrative *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolimam*.<sup>22</sup> Another trace of the provisions granted by Gregory VIII is a decree in the *Compilatio Secunda*, which mentions privileges (but not indulgences) for those who send aid for the recovery of the Holy Land.<sup>23</sup> However, in 1157 Hadrian IV had already decreed that those who were not able to go in person could send horses or arms to Jerusalem "for the salvation of their souls". This might be seen as a

20 Reg. 2 no. 212 (PL 214: 780–2).

21 According to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. G.F. Warner (1891; repr. 1964), vol. VIII p. 237: "... ac remissionis illius quae proficiscentibus illuc vel congrua suffragia transmittentibus prius a praedecessore nostro bonae memoriae Gregorio papa et postmodum a nobis generaliter est indulta."

22 *Audita tremendi*: PL 202: 1539–42. *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolimam*, printed in Langebek: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* v, 345f. and Gertz: *Scriptores minores historiae danicae medii aevi* 2, p. 463f. On the authenticity of this bull please see the discussion below in chapter 5.2. We may, however, draw attention to the fact that while the indulgence for sending subsidies is not mentioned in the rendering of the papal letter in c. III of *De profectione*, it is obviously hinted at in c. v: "Simus in sorte sanctorum et communionem laborum; qui non ualeat corpore, rebus opem conferat laborantibus, ut participes sint in premio, qui non sunt dispare in uoto." Ed. Gertz p. 467.

23 *Ex administratione*, Comp. II, Lib. II tit. 16 c. 4, in *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, ed. Friedberg, p. 75. Cf. Decretal. Gregor. IX Lib. II tit. 24 c. 1, in *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg (1959), p. 359. Paulus I p. 204 n. 4 asserts that this is a fragment of the same bull as *Cum divina patientia*; this is possible, but I have found nothing to substantiate it. Cf. also PL 202: 1561; Mansi vol. 22 col. 535; *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, ed. sec. S. Loewenfeld, vols. 1–2 (1888; repr. 1956) (hereafter cited as JL) no. 10011.

forerunner of the indulgences for spending alms for the crusades, but in the decree of Hadrian IV, it is more likely to be understood as an exhortation than an actual, developed indulgence, as the formulation is so vague and does not mention an actual remission.<sup>24</sup> An even earlier example is from a letter of Gelasius II for the Christian army besieging Saragossa from 1118, which states that those who served in the fight against the Saracens in that region would have a remission of their penances in proportion with their labour and with their donation to the churches that had been destroyed by the Saracens, and to the clerics there.<sup>25</sup> This is indeed an indulgence for spending alms in connection with a crusade, and it is an early and singular example up until the decrees of Gregory VIII/Clement III. The privilege by Gelasius II was, however, only granted to the actual crusaders who took part in the battle, and who also made a donation to the church. Thus, the provisions by Gelasius were in reality a limitation of the privilege to those who would both fight and spend alms. They were not meant to broaden the range of recipients of the indulgences to non-combatants, who could best contribute to the enterprise of the crusade by spending money.

When the indulgences for spending money for the crusades emerged in the latter part of the twelfth century, they were no doubt due to a continuous desire on the part of the papacy to limit the crusading armies to able-bodied, trained, and well-equipped troops, while still obtaining funds from those who were less fit to fight. This development proceeded under the pontificate of Innocent III, who instituted the indulgences for sending a substitute on crusade.<sup>26</sup> In 1198, he promised a plenary indulgence for those who would pay a substitute to serve for two years in the crusade in the Holy Land. The substitute would also receive a plenary indulgence himself. In Innocent's bulls from 1199 and 1200, the time of service that was to be paid for was only one year, and in his great crusading decree *Quia Maior* from 1213, a specific time of service is not mentioned at all. However, in *Ad liberandam* from 1215, it is stated that contributors should pay for the substitute for three years in order to gain the full

24 PL 188: 1537–8; *Recueil des historiens de Gaules et de la France* XI (1808), pp. 681–2. Please cf. Appendix 1 for the text. For a different opinion, see Tyerman 1998, pp. 14–5, who finds that this is an indulgence and grants Hadrian IV the honour of having invented this privilege.

25 PL 163: 508.

26 An earlier example of indulgences for sending substitutes is from a council in Santiago de Compostela in 1125, reported in the *Historia Compostellana* in PL 170: 1135, cf. Paulus I p. 198.

indulgence.<sup>27</sup> With the indulgences for sending substitutes, it became possible to obtain a plenary crusade indulgence without going in person. This development was paralleled by the increasing number of redemptions of crusade vows. While it had been common practice from the time of the Third Crusade that crusade vows could be relaxed by commutations into another obligation or be redeemed in money, if the person who had made the vow had serious reasons not to go, the frequency of such redemptions increased from the time of Innocent III, when they became easier to obtain. A person who took the vow could then enjoy the crusader privileges until he decided to redeem the vow, and the advantages of this did lead to abuse.<sup>28</sup>

In 1213, Pope Innocent III also granted partial indulgences to those who attended crusade sermons, and he enjoined the preachers themselves to deliver the word of the cross “for the remission of their sins”.<sup>29</sup> Innocent did not state how large this remission would be, but later popes often granted the same indulgences to the preachers as to the crusaders.<sup>30</sup> After our period, the indulgences were extended also to the wives of the crusaders, to the colonists in the Holy Land, to the missionaries, and to the collectors of money and alms for the crusades.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, the access to obtain a crusade indulgence was extended to a wider range of people, who could be part of the crusading movement, and in some cases even enjoy crusader status and privileges without ever exposing themselves to the dangers and hardships of an expedition. At the same time, this shows that the papacy became less and less restrictive in the administration of the indulgences. The conditions for obtaining them became lighter, and the plenary indulgences became more and more common. No doubt this development was due in large part to the fact that the crusade institutions were turned into a fundraising device. This development became more apparent after our period, especially by 1240, when the relaxation of crusade vows was granted to all who paid for it with out any demands for a reason.<sup>32</sup> This commercialisation represented an important incentive for the popes to distribute the indulgences more generously.

27 1198: Reg. 1 no. 336 (PL 214: 312). 1199: Reg. 2 no. 258 (PL 214: 831). 1200: Reg. 2 no. 259 (PL 214: 834). 1213: PL 216: 818. 1215: ed. Alberigo pp. 244–7.

28 Brundage 1969, pp. 131–8.

29 For attending sermons: PL 216: 827. For preaching: in *Pium et sanctum*, PL 216: 822, and in *Ad liberandam*, ed. Alberigo p. 244.

30 Paulus II pp. 42–4.

31 Paulus II pp. 41–6.

32 Brundage 1969, p. 135.

On the other hand, the more generous administration of the crusade indulgences, which is seen after the time of Innocent III, might also have found justification in the new theology of indulgences, based on the objective powers of the pope and the treasury of merits. With an infinite treasury of merits, there was less reason to be cautious in the administration of indulgences, if not for the concern that the indulgences might be devalued.

#### 4.2 The Development of the Spiritual Privilege

Just as the contents of the privileges were extended and refined, the actual formulation of the spiritual privilege in the bulls changed quite a lot over the twelfth century. The formula of crusade indulgences only reached a standard form with the bulls of Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, which were in turn to become the models for all subsequent crusade indulgences.<sup>33</sup> This lack of a fixed vocabulary obscures the meaning and intention behind the earlier grants of spiritual rewards, and the development of the vocabulary and the meaning behind the different formulas will be the subject of the next two chapters. First, we will look at the various formulas that were used by the popes to denote spiritual privileges for crusades in our period (until 1216), and at the development towards a more fixed formula. Then we will examine the significance of the particular formulas by looking at how rare or how frequent they were, and at the purposes they were employed for, apart from crusades.

The material for the survey is primarily made up by the papal encyclicals to proclaim or further new crusades in the period 1099–1216. However, especially for the early part of the period, in which the papal sources are sparser, other sources will also be considered. While the papal proclamations of crusades from the early part of the period are relatively short, the bulls become longer and more elaborate from the Second Crusade onwards. They become more clearly divided into the standard parts of the medieval diploma; they often have a long *narratio* about the background for the crusade, an *exhortatio* to admonish the recipients to fight for Christ and the Church, and the privileges, which will be obtained by the crusaders, are stated in a separate section, the *statuta*.<sup>34</sup> Since the bulls of Alexander III, the *statuta* become divided into privileges for different types of efforts, e.g. the rewards for those who give their

33 Paulus II p. 31; Gottlob 1906, pp. 136f.; Mayer 1996, p. 33.

34 On the structure and development of the crusade encyclicals, see Ursula Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocens IV* (1937), esp. pp. 65–7.

lives are stated in one formula and for those who survive the expedition in another. Some of the difficulties with interpreting the stipulations on the indulgences are actually resolved when these distinctions are taken into consideration.

The sources in question speak of both the remission of sins and of penances. As mentioned in the discussion on the historiography of the crusade indulgence above, some crusade historians have focused on whether the bulls granted *remissio peccatorum* to crusaders or not, and take this as a sign of a “real”, transcendental indulgence – while historians of theology assert that it is the remission of penance that is the touchstone of an indulgence. In light of this discussion and the seeming contrast between remissions of sins and penances, we will pay attention to statements of both in the formulas. In some of the formulas it appears that the remission of sins includes a remission of penances and vice versa, and we shall try to sort out what *remissio peccatorum* or *remissio injunctae poenitentiae* were meant to signify in each case. It would furthermore seem that a developed theology of indulgences would presuppose a clear concept of the distinction between remissions of sins and punishments, and therefore we will also look for evidence of this distinction.

#### 4.2.1 *The Formation of the Formula*

It has been stated that the popes and the papal curia were reluctant to employ the formula *remissio peccatorum* for crusades, and did not begin to do so before Eugenius III.<sup>35</sup> As we saw already in chapter 2.3, this is not actually the case, since Urban II used the words to describe his grant at Clermont in his letter to Flanders. Also his successor Paschal II used it as early as December 1099, in a letter for the French archbishops, bishops, and abbots,<sup>36</sup> and in the other letters we have from Paschal in which he mentions or grants indulgences for crusades, he also refers to it as a *remissio peccatorum*, either by this particular formula, or by the alternative *peccatorum veniam* or *peccatorum absolutio-nem*.<sup>37</sup> The only letter in which he does not explicitly refer to the indulgence as a remission of sin is a letter to clerics and laity in the kingdom of Alfonso of León-Castile from March 1101. In this, the pope urges the Spanish to stay and fight in their own region rather than joining the expeditions for Jerusalem, and he explains that they will earn the same merit on the Iberian peninsula: “there you will serve your penance by the mercy of God, there you will receive the

35 Mayer 1995, pp. 36–37; Mayer 1996, p. 33.

36 Hagenmeyer pp. 174–5. Please see Appendix 1 for the full text of the privileges mentioned in this chapter.

37 See PL 163: 45c, 65a, 366d; MGH Scriptores VII 789. See also Appendix 1 below.



remission and grace of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul and their apostolic Church.”<sup>38</sup> But is this to be understood as a remission of penance and not of sin, as formerly argued by J. Riley-Smith?<sup>39</sup> It appears that the letter should be read in context with a letter to King Alfonso from October 14 of the previous year on the same matter, in which Paschal grants *peccatorum veniam* to those who would not go to Jerusalem, but instead stay and fight in their own region.<sup>40</sup> Pope Paschal might of course have changed his mind about it between October and March, but it seems more likely to assume that the reference to remission in the letter from March 1101 meant “remission of sin”, and that what Paschal meant was that by fighting the Moor, the Spanish would do a work satisfactory for their penance and therefore earn the remission of sins by the pope’s apostolic authority. Even though Paschal II was more inclined to use the formula *remissio peccatorum* about the spiritual reward than Urban II, he thus appears to have had a similar idea of the crusade as a meritorious work that would earn the remission of sins in the same way as a penance.

His successor, Gelasius II, divided his formula in two and spoke of remission of both penance and sins in his letter to the Christian army at Saragossa from December 1118, which is the only crusade indulgence left from his short pontificate.<sup>41</sup> Gelasius distinguishes between the rewards for those who give their life and those who survive the expedition. Those who die will be released “from the chains of their sin” (*a suorum vinculis peccatorum absolvimus*) and those who survive will have a remission of their penance in proportion to the labour they have put into this service for the Lord, and also to the size of the donation to the local church that they are also expected to give.

An interesting feature is that the size of this remission of penance would be made according to the decision of the local bishops. It is one of only three papal crusade indulgences I have found in which the decision is conferred to the local prelates, the other examples being a letter from Clement III to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1188 and a bull of Celestine III from 1195.<sup>42</sup> In addition, the Third Lateran Council of 1179 left the decision of the size of the remission

38 PL 163: 65a: “Vobis ergo omnibus iterata praeceptione praecipimus ut in vestris partibus persistentes Moabitas et Mauros totis viribus impugnetis: ibi largiente Deo vestras poenitentias peragatis: ibi sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et apostolicae eorum Ecclesiae remissionem et gratiam percipiat.” O’Callaghan suggests (p. 34) that this letter was from 1108 rather than 1101, but with no definite arguments.

39 Cf. Riley-Smith 1977, p. 59.

40 PL 163: 45c.

41 PL 163: 508c.

42 Giraldus Cambrensis: *Opera* vol. VIII pp. 237–8; PL 206: 1109–10.

partly with the local bishops.<sup>43</sup> This concession to the authority of the local bishops might be regarded as a practical solution to the problem that the bishops would be in a much better position to know how much labour and devotion the crusader had put into it, and it is tempting to see these provisions in connection with the argument of some of the theologians mentioned earlier, who insisted that indulgences were only valid if the penitent's own bishop had agreed on it (cf. on Stephen Langton above).<sup>44</sup>

What is apparent from the formulations of Gelasius II is that he thought of the indulgence as essentially a commutation of penance.<sup>45</sup> The reward for the surviving crusaders was a "subtraction" from their prescribed penance in accordance with their efforts. About the dead crusaders, however, it is stated that they would be released from the chains of their sins, provided that they had received penance for them. This must mean that they gained the full remission of this penance. The formula *peccatorum absolvimus*, absolution of sins, thus meant the full remission of penance in this case, i.e. an indulgence, and not an absolution of the guilt of sins as would be the later use of the term. When Gelasius chose to state the reward for the surviving crusaders with reference to *poenitentiarum remissionem* instead, the reason may be that this was not a plenary indulgence, and that it felt inadequate to talk about a proportional release from the chains of sins, as sins can only be forgiven fully or not. This we have seen argued by both Gregory VII and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>46</sup> Christopher Tyerman may be right when he says that Gelasius' remission of sins to the dead crusaders should be regarded as being in the "pre-1095 tradition", in which dead war-

43 Canon 27 of the Third Lateran Council leaves it to the local bishops to decide the size of the indulgence for those who serve more than 2 years (ed. Alberigo p. 201). This might be explained by the fact that this decree was a product of a council of bishops, rather than a pope alone, but the reasons might also be practical and theological.

44 It should also be taken into consideration, however, that by the time of Gelasius II, the right to grant indulgences does not yet appear to have been regarded as a papal prerogative and that he might not have thought of it as a conference of authority. On this, see chapter 4.2.4.

45 The role of the bishops is also explained by the fact that the indulgence was regarded as a commutation of penance. It is not, as Gottlob thought, a sign that there were no claims to a transcendental effect. Gottlob on this, 1906 p. 96: "Da ist von überirdischen Wirkungen natürlich keine Rede [...] Gott wartet nicht erst mit seiner Belohnung, bis der Bischof sein Votum abgegeben hat. Und dass die Bischöfe selbst in individueller Cura bestimmten oder bestimmen sollten: Du hast das und das getan; daher verfüge ich dass Dir im Jenseits so und so viel erlassen werde – das ist ausgeschlossen. Das hat meines Wissens nie ein Bischof oder Papst in Anspruch genommen."

46 See chapters 3.1.3 and 3.2.4 above.

riors often gained absolution of sins.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, with the distinctions between different rewards for different categories of crusaders and between remission of sin and of penance, the indulgence of Gelasius II is a forerunner of the indulgence bulls of the second half of the twelfth century. His immediate successors did not make these distinctions, however.

Calixtus II presided over the First Lateran Council in 1123, which granted *peccatorum remissionem* to those who defended the Christian people in Jerusalem. The council did not make attempts to clarify the teaching on indulgences, but simply referred to the precedence set by Pope Urban II, *sicut a domino nostro papa Urbano statutum fuit*.<sup>48</sup> Thus, apparently, the delegates at the council agreed that *remissio peccatorum* was the correct term for the privilege Urban had granted. Calixtus II issued another indulgence for crusaders in Spain in accordance with the decree of the Lateran Council, and this does not shed any light on the theology of the matter either.<sup>49</sup>

The provisions of Honorius II against Roger of Sicily and antipope Anaclet II in 1128 might, however, give us a key to the understanding of the relationship between remission of sin and of penance. Honorius is reported to have promised that those who helped this cause would gain the benefit of having the merits of the holy Virgin and Apostles pay for their redemption, and that those who had assumed penance for their sins would, if they died on this expedition, get a full remission of their sins (*peccata universa remisit*), and that those who did not die but had made confession would be “granted half” (*medietatem donavit*).<sup>50</sup> These might not be the exact words of the pope himself, since they are handed down in the narrative of a chronicle which was only concluded in 1144, but if we trust that they are not too far from his intentions then we must conclude that to Honorius II, remission of sin meant the same as remission of punishments for sins. In theological terms it does not make much sense to say “remission of half of their sins”. Sins are either forgiven fully or not; it is the punishment for sins that can be divided, measured and remitted partially.<sup>51</sup> It must have been the punishments that were “granted half.” The account of Honorius’ decree even explains how the remission was effected: the merits of St Mary and the Apostles were counted in favour of the crusaders. This explanation is in accordance with what we found in the theologians in the latter

47 Tyerman 1998, p. 16.

48 Ed. Alberigo p. 167f.

49 PL 163: 1305c.

50 According to the Chronicle of Falco Beneventanus in PL 173: 1199b.

51 See Paulus 1 p. 254 and the discussion of Thomas Aquinas above in chapter 3.2.4.

part of the century, of the indulgence as a substitution from the *suffragia* of the Church, and this suggests that their theology was in accordance with what the issuers of spiritual privileges had had in mind for decades.

Innocent II and the council of Pisa, who repeated the sanctions against Count Roger and the antipope, stated that the reward would be the same as the one granted by Urban II at Clermont for the crusade to Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup> This shows that Urban's name was becoming a hallmark for the spiritual reward associated with crusading, as had also been laid down by the First Lateran Council. For some reason or other, the council of Pisa only stated that it would be the same remission as instituted by Urban, however, and not whether this was a *remissio peccatorum*.

Eugenius III also referred to the precedence of Urban II, and his famous bull *Quantum praedecessores*, issued in December 1145 and March 1146, furthermore shows some inclination towards grading the indulgence in different categories.<sup>53</sup> This bull is generally regarded as the first "real" crusade bull,<sup>54</sup> and it does indeed contain some features that became standard and served as a model for later crusade bulls, even if it cannot be called the first crusade bull ever. It is longer and more detailed than the bulls and letters we have seen until now, and it contains a long *narratio* about the fall of Edessa, which motivated the Second Crusade. It has an *exhortatio*, in which the defence and liberation of the Oriental Church is enjoined for the remission of sins: *in peccatorum remissionem injungimus*. This formula had not been employed in any of the previous crusading bulls, but would reappear in the bulls of Alexander III and Innocent III. The list of privileges in the *statuta* states first that everyone who undertook this work and labour of devotion and completed it would have the same *peccatorem remissionem* as Pope Urban had instituted. At the end of the bull this grant is restated, but with the addition that also those who died on the way would gain absolution for all their sins for which they had made confession (*peccatorum remissionem et absolutionem; ... de omnibus peccatis suis... absolutionem*). This repetition can be seen as a *sanctio positiva*, which restates the spiritual rewards to be gained by complying with the exhortation, but it also specifies the rewards for those who died.

52 E. Bernheim pp. 150–1.

53 PL 180: 1064d–1066a.

54 Schwerin p. 26; Berry, "The Second Crusade" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K.M. Setton I (1958), p. 467; Cramer p. 48; Constable 1953, p. 253; Robinson 1990, p. 338; Simon Lloyd, "The Crusading Movement, 1096–1274" in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Riley-Smith (1995), pp. 34–65, here p. 45; Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade. Extending the frontiers of Christendom* (2007), pp. 37–60.

Eugenius III is also famous for having issued an actual crusading bull for the expedition against the pagan Slavs north of the Elbe in 1147, the so-called Wendish Crusade that was part of the Second Crusade. The bull mentions all three fronts of this crusade, the Oriental, the Iberian and the Transalbanian, and it grants the same remission of sins to those who took part in the Wendish Crusade as to those who had taken the cross for Jerusalem, again with reference to the decree of Urban II: *illam remissionem peccatorum, quam praedecessor noster felix memorie papa Urbanus Iherosolimam transeuntibus instituit*.<sup>55</sup>

The Second Crusade to the Holy Land ended in failure and disillusion. Efforts were made to launch a second campaign in the years 1149–50, but Pope Eugenius appears to have been hesitant towards supporting it and did not issue a new bull. However, he declared briefly that those who took part would enjoy the same *remissio peccatorum* as stated in *Quantum praedecessores*.<sup>56</sup> In 1152, Eugenius issued a bull for a crusade in Spain, and here he repeated his formulas from *Quantum praedecessores* almost verbatim. This letter was reissued by Anastasius IV in 1153 or 1154.<sup>57</sup>

Hadrian IV issued a crusading bull for the Holy Land in November 1157. This contains nothing of the elaborate formulas of Eugenius III, but only a double exhortation. Those who were able to go to Jerusalem to assist the Templars in the fight against the infidel were enjoined to do so for the remission of their sins, *in suorum veniam delictorum*, and those who were not able to go should send horses and arms *pro animarum salute*.<sup>58</sup>

Alexander III issued several crusading bulls during his long pontificate (1159–81) in response to appeals for help from the Latin settlers in the Holy Land, but because of various political conflicts in Europe nothing much came of the proposed expeditions to the East.<sup>59</sup> In 1165, Alexander simply reissued the 20-year-old *Quantum praedecessores* of Eugenius III without making any changes in the paragraphs on the indulgence, except that he referred to both Urban and Eugenius as its institutors (*illam peccatorum remissionem quam praedecessores nostri Urbanus et Eugenius Romani pontifices instituerunt*).<sup>60</sup> A year later, in 1166, he issued a much more original bull, *In quantis pressuris*, in which the indulgences are formulated a little more elaborately and are graded in the dif-

55 PL 180: 1203c; *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* vol I, pp. 36–7.

56 PL 180: 1414. See Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land* (1996), p. 108.

57 Eugenius: cf. PL 180: 1539. Anastasius: ed. Kehr, p. 347.

58 PL 188: 1537–38; *Recueil des historiens de Gaules et de la France* XI, pp. 681–2.

59 See for instance J. Phillips 1996, pp. 149–54, 186–208, 245–51.

60 PL 200: 385–6.

ferent categories that would reappear also in Alexander's later bulls. In this bull of 1166, he still referred to the precedence of Urban and Eugenius as *peccatorum remissionem*.<sup>61</sup> In his next crusade bull, *Inter omnia* of 1169, it says however that the crusaders are granted "the same remission of penance imposed by the priestly ministry (*illam remissionem impositae poenitentiae*) as we know our fathers and predecessors, Urban and Eugenius of blessed memory, have instituted in their time."<sup>62</sup> The reference to the precedence of Eugenius in this bull seems a little curious, as Eugenius had stated that he granted remission of sins and as Alexander certainly was aware of that. The alteration of the formula must be due to a deliberate reinterpretation. A. Gottlob and J. Riley-Smith have argued that the reference to enjoined penances by Alexander was a sign of an altered perception of what the indulgence meant in the next world.<sup>63</sup> However, this is not necessarily what the reinterpretation was about. The new formula may also have been the result of a wish for a formula that reflected the theological implications of the indulgence more unambiguously. In fact, the indulgence decree of *Inter omnia* is the most theologically well defined among all the decrees of crusade indulgences in our period. This interest in finding a fitting formula was apparently paralleled by an interest in the proper administration of indulgences, since Alexander's pontificate also saw the first decretal on this subject, the *Quod autem consuluisti*, which stated that indulgences were only valid if they were issued by the recipient's own "judge".<sup>64</sup>

When assessing the spiritual privileges granted by Alexander III, it is important first to note the structure of the *statuta* in his bulls. These can be divided

61 Ed. Hiestand 1972, no. 53, pp. 251–3.

62 PL 200: 600–1.

63 In the first edition of *What Were the Crusades?* from 1977, Riley-Smith argued on the basis of these formulas that the opinions of the transcendental effect changed dramatically back and forth during the pontificate of Alexander III. In 1166 "the remission of sins was not meant to apply only to the penalties imposed in confession." I.e. it included also the transcendental parts, but "This was rash and one can perhaps detect anxiety at the papal Curia ..." because the 1169 bull refers carefully to the remission of penance imposed by the priestly ministry. Cf. Riley-Smith 1977, pp. 60–1. This argument was left out in the later editions (1992, 2002, 2009), but was maintained in a new form in J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades* (2005), p. 134. Gottlob discussed Alexander's bulls in 1906 pp. 117–28. His conclusion appears in some places to be based on a "selective" reading of the sources, e.g. his assessment of the indulgence of the Third Lateran Council (p. 125). He claims that this pertained only to the earthly penances, but he leaves out the first part of the *statuta* on the indulgences for those who died, which reads: "Qui autem in vera poenitentia ibi decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum mercedis aeternae se non dubient percipituros." Ed. Alberigo p. 201.

64 Cf. above chapter 3, note 171.

into two types, a longer and a shorter version. The longer type appears in the actual crusading bulls, *Quantum praedecessores* of 1165, *In quantis pressuris* of 1166, *Inter omnia* of 1169, *Non parum animus* for the Estonian crusade of 1171 or 72, *Cor nostrum* of 1181, and in Canon 27 of the Third Lateran Council of 1179. The shorter type appears in letters to the faithful in Denmark and France from 1171 or 72. These shorter decrees simply enjoin the good works for the conversion of the heathen Estonians or the aid for the canons of Nazareth for the remission of sins, *in remissionem peccatorem ... injungimus*, so that those who took up these good works would thereby earn the retribution of eternal bliss from God.<sup>65</sup> The longer decrees are more detailed. The bulls of 1165, 1166, and 1169 first have an *exhortatio* with the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* like the *Quantum praedecessores* of Eugenius III, whereas the bulls of 1171/72 and 1181 do not have such a formalised statement in the *exhortatio*. In all the longer bulls, the actual *statuta* on the indulgences are graded in proportion to the efforts of the crusaders. In most cases it seems that those who died on the expedition would get a full remission of their sins, whereas those who survived would get a remission of penance in proportion to their time of service. *Inter omnia* states that those who served for two years would have all their penance remitted, and those who served only one year would have half their penance remitted. The same is the case in *Cor nostrum*, whereas the Estonian bull granted a remission of one year for all who survived the expedition, and a full remission to those who died. Similarly, the decree of the Third Lateran Council granted a full remission to those who died and a remission of two years of the penance for all survivors – or if they had served longer than two years they could be granted more according to the assessment of their bishop. The bulls of 1166, 1169, and 1181 are concluded by an additional statement on the spiritual reward very much like the *Quantum praedecessores* of both 1146/47 and 1165, but using the exhortative formula *in remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus*.

The wish to grade the indulgences in proportion to the time of service is very likely also the principal explanation for the explicit reference to imposed penance in *Inter omnia*. As long as indulgences were granted plenarily, the traditional formula *remissio peccatorum* would be satisfactory, but – as we have seen earlier – it apparently did not feel adequate to talk about a partial remission of sins. Accordingly, *In quantis pressuris* of 1166 grants the full *peccatorem absolutionem* to those who serve for two years, but half of *injuncte penitencie* to those who serve for one year. This discrepancy of terms may have brought about the revision of the formula for the *Inter omnia* bull, which speaks

65 PL 200: 861, 863, 758.

consistently of remission of penances in the section on indulgences. An indulgence was a remission of penance, and perhaps those who drew up the bull felt a need to find a less ambiguous expression than *remissio peccatorum*, which might also refer to the guilt for sins.

The reference in *Inter omnia* is not only to penances, but to “enjoined penances” and to the “penances imposed by the priestly ministry”. Gottlob and Riley-Smith thought that these expressions were signs of a deliberate attempt to limit the indulgence to only the penalties imposed by the ministers of the Church, and to leave out the temporal punishments imposed by God. However, the reference to imposed penances in *Inter omnia* may also reflect a wish to stress the need for confession of all sins, so that a priest could enjoin penances for them, and that only the punishments for confessed sins would be included in the indulgence. Moreover, *Inter omnia* makes more of an effort to explain the theological justification for granting the indulgence than any of the other bulls in this survey. In the paragraph about those who served for two years, going on crusade is laid out as a work of penance, done for the love of Christ, which will earn the forgiveness of sins instead of the originally enjoined penance:

... whoever is fit for the defence of the [Holy] Land and prepared to obedience in this matter, who have accepted penance, and will remain there for two years for the defence of that Land, and who will bear the exertions of the battle on the commands of the king and the magnates of that Land for the love of Christ, he shall be happy that he has obtained the remission of the enjoined penance and that, with the contrition of the heart and the satisfaction of the mouth, this journey will have taken the place of his satisfaction for the indulgence of his sins.<sup>66</sup>

This quotation shows that the crusade indulgence was here still basically perceived as a commutation of penances, but this did not mean that it did not include transcendental effects. What was laid down here was that the crusade indulgence was a remission of penance, and that going on crusade worked for the forgiveness of sins in the same way as performing the penance would have done. Thus, Alexander’s theology on indulgences seems very close to that of

66 “...qui ad defensionem terrae idoneus et ad hoc obsequium expeditus, suscepta poenitentia biennio ibi ad defensionem terrae permanserit et sudorem certaminis ad praeceptum regis et majorum terrae pro amore Christi portaverit, remissionem injunctae poenitentiae se laetetur adeptum, et cum contritione cordis et satisfactione oris profectionem istam satisfactionis loco ad suorum hanc indulgentiam peccatorum;” PL 200: 600–1.



Urban II. The formulations also indicate, however, that the remission of penances and the indulgence for sins would be in effect already when the crusader set out on the journey, and not when he had actually served his two years. This means that the effect of the indulgence was not merely the product of the crusader's own hard work, but also of the grant made by the pope. The obedience, acceptance of penance, the contrition, the confession, and the will to serve for two years, are all to be understood as the conditions for the remission, not as the cause of it. Admittedly, the *statuta* of *Inter omnia* do not positively state that this indulgence will have a certain effect on God's part of the temporal punishments – but neither do the bulls by earlier popes. Gottlob may have been on the right track, however, when he pointed out that Alexander was not a proponent of a direct transcendental efficacy of the indulgence.<sup>67</sup> Pope Alexander did not claim that the transcendental effect was a direct product of his apostolic powers, and that his decree meant that the crusaders would be absolutely sure of their salvation. This does not mean that he did not promise any transcendental effects, however. The concluding formula of *In quantis pressuris* 1166 and *Inter omnia* 1169 says,

We enjoin all those intending to visit the Lord's sepulchre in this present need, those who die on the journey as well as those who arrive there, the labor of this journey as penance, obedience, and the remission of all sins, so that after the toils of this battle they will merit to obtain eternal life.<sup>68</sup>

In *Cor nostrum* 1181 the last part is replaced by:

... so that they will leave the toil of the present life for that blessedness, if the Lord grants it, which [...] God has promised to those who love him.<sup>69</sup>

67 Gottlob 1906 p. 123.

68 "Praeterea omnibus sepulcrum Dominicum pro instanti necessitate visitare volentibus, tam in itinere morte praeoccupatis, quam usque illuc pervenientibus, laborem itineris ad poenitentiam, obedientiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus, ut post hujus certaminis ergastula vitam aeternam consequi mereantur." PL 200: 601. Cf. Hiestand 1972, no. 53, p. 253.

69 "Omnibus autem sepulcrum Domini pro instanti necessitate visitare volentibus, sive in itinere moriantur, sive ad istum locum perveniant, laborem itineris ad poenitentiam et obedientiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus, ut de vitae praesentis ergastulo ad illam beatitudinem, Domino largiente, perveniant, quam nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quam repromisit Dominus diligentibus se." PL 200: 1296.

The fate of the crusaders in the next world was thus left to God, so to speak, but Pope Alexander does not appear to express any doubt that, under the conditions stipulated in the bull, the crusaders would earn merit in the sight of God and be granted eternal life.

In Alexander's later bulls, the *remissio/absolutio peccatorum* returns as the formula for the plenary indulgence, but this does not necessarily indicate a change of heart within the curia. The explanation may well be that this was the traditional formula, which people were used to and had confidence in. Now that the theology of the matter had been laid down in one decree it was not necessary to repeat in all subsequent decrees that the indulgence was in fact a remission of punishments for confessed sins, even if it said "of sin".

The immediate successors of Alexander III followed the precedence set by him in using formulas of remission of both penance and sins. Lucius III even followed him verbatim by reissuing *Cor nostrum* in 1184.<sup>70</sup>

Gregory VIII was elected pope in October 1187, just as the news of the triumphs of Saladin and the threat against the Christian rule of Jerusalem was reaching Europe, and only a week after his election he issued the bull *Audita tremendi*. His formulations about the indulgences are somewhat shorter and less elaborate than those of Alexander III. Gregory appears more generous and granted a full remission of penances for confessed sins for all participants, regardless of the time they served or whether they died on the crusade. To those who died in true penitence and faith, he further granted "full indulgence of their sins and eternal life".<sup>71</sup> Thus, he did not promise the remission of sins and eternal life to the surviving crusaders, probably in order to lay down that future sins, committed after returning from the crusade, would not be included in the crusade indulgence.

Clement III, on the other hand, granted the remission of all sins to all who went on the crusade personally. This was stated in a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1188. The same letter left the decision about the *remissio peccatorum* for those who sent money or a substitute to the archbishop, under consideration of the qualities of the persons as well as the size of the contributions.<sup>72</sup>

Celestine III, in 1193, issued a crusading bull without *statuta* on indulgences, but only with an *exhortatio* containing the formula *in remissionem injungimus peccatorem*.<sup>73</sup> His *Misericors et miserator* of 1195 combined the formulas of

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Paulus I p. 202.

<sup>71</sup> Ed. Chroust p. 10; PL 202: 1542.

<sup>72</sup> Inserted in Giraldus Cambrensis, *De principis instructione*, in *Opera* VIII, pp. 237–8.

<sup>73</sup> PL 206: 972.

*Inter omnia, Audita tremendi* and the Third Lateran Council. It has been called “muddled drafting”, which is not altogether untrue.<sup>74</sup> The meaning apparently is, however, the same as in *Audita tremendi* of Gregory VIII.

The number of decrees related to crusading that has come down to us from the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216) is much greater than the numbers from any of the previous popes. This might in part be due to the fact that the decrees of Innocent III generally have survived in much greater number and proportion than those of earlier popes, because of the survival of the registers of the correspondence from most of his pontificate. However, the number also bears witness to the untiring efforts of Pope Innocent III to launch and organize crusades. He issued at least seven full-scale crusading bulls during his pontificate, two of them in its very first year. These full-scale crusading bulls have a long *narratio* about the reason for the crusade, and a developed *statuta* with a list of privileges, among these the indulgence. In addition, we have a large number of shorter bulls and decrees from Innocent, granting crusade indulgences to individual princes and peoples, or exhorting them to fight for the Church.

The pontificate of Innocent III also witnessed the invention of a new formula for the crusade indulgences, or rather of two new formulas or models: a longer, more elaborate one for the full-scale bulls, and an abbreviated one for the shorter decrees. These forms appear almost fully developed already from 1198, the first year of Innocent's pontificate. This year the papacy issued at least three crusading bulls containing indulgences, two for the Holy Land, and one against the Albigensians.<sup>75</sup> In these bulls, the indulgences are phrased somewhat varyingly, but *Post miserabile* from September 1198 already holds the formula that was to be repeated practically verbatim in *Graves orientales terrae* and *Nisi nobis* from 1199–1200, and again in *Quia maior* from 1213 and *Ad liberandam* from 1215.<sup>76</sup> This formula is the longer, elaborated form, and consists of three parts, the first concerning those who personally and at their own expense participate in the crusade; they are granted a full remission of confessed sins and a larger share in the eternal wages of the just, *plenam peccatorum suorum de quibus oris et cordis confessi, veniam indulgemus et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum*. The second part concerns those who pay a substitute to go on crusade, as well as those who go as such a

74 Riley-Smith 1977, p. 61.

75 *Plorans ploravit*: Reg. 1 no. 302 (PL 214: 263–5); *Post miserabile*: Reg. 1 no. 336 (PL 214: 308–12); Albigensians: Reg. 1. no. 94 (PL 214: 81–3).

76 *Graves Orientalis terrae*: Reg. 2 no. 258 (PL 214: 828–32); *Nisi nobis*: Reg. 2 no. 259 (PL 214: 832–5); *Quia maior*: PL 216: 817–22; *Ad liberandam*: Alberigo pp. 246–7.

substitute. Both are granted a full remission of sins, *plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum*. The third part concerns those who contribute with lesser amounts of money or assistance, and they are granted a part in this remission, *remissionis esse participes*, in proportion to their help and to their devotion.

The shorter form is based on the much older formula, *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, which had been in use for various purposes by the papacy since the middle of the eleventh century,<sup>77</sup> and which we have also seen in some of the crusading bulls of Eugenius III and Alexander III as a formula of exhortation. The basic meaning of the *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* formula is that a certain good work is enjoined on somebody for the remission of their sins. Whereas the formula does not seem to have been regarded as an actual indulgence formula by all of his predecessors, Innocent III nevertheless employed it as such, and he did so in a number of crusading bulls and in decrees of crusade indulgences to individual princes etc.<sup>78</sup> We will return to the significance of the *injugimus* formula below, but as proof that Innocent III did regard it as an actual indulgence formula and not just an exhortation, we may note that this formula was also the one that was laid down as the standard formula for indulgences by the Fourth Lateran Council in the decree no. 62 *Cum ex eo*.<sup>79</sup> This formula does not in itself specify how large the remission would be, but only states that the work would be “for the remission of your sins”. Sometimes the following sentences state the size of the remission, but usually it is left unspecified.

The longer, elaborated formula was used only for the crusades to the Holy Land by Innocent III, while he used the shorter formula for the crusades against Markward of Anweiler, against the Albigensians, on the Iberian Peninsula, and in the Baltic region. On a few occasions the indulgences for these causes were equated to the Holy Land indulgence or stated as plenary. The former was the case in 1199 for the crusade against Markward.<sup>80</sup> Those who fought against the Albigensians were often promised the same indulgence as those who “helped” the Holy Land.<sup>81</sup> Only in one instance were they promised a full remission, using the *injugimus* formula (*iniungentes eis in remissionem omnium peccatorum*).<sup>82</sup> The latter formula was also used in 1211 for granting

77 Paulus I p. 120.

78 E.g. Reg. 1 nos 13, 94, 302, 397; Reg. 2 nos 182, 212, 259 (PL 214: 11, 82, 265, 375, 739, 782, 833); Reg. 7 nos 77, 79; Reg. 10 no. 149 (PL 215: 360, 362, 1247); PL 216: 116, 118, 160, 353, 380, 513, 514.

79 Ed. Alberigo p. 239. See also above, chapter 3, note 213.

80 Reg. 1 no. 555; but see Reg. 2 no. 212 (PL 214: 514, 782).

81 Reg. 7 nos 77, 79, 212, Reg. 10 no. 149 (PL 215: 360, 362, 528, 1246).

82 Reg. 7 no. 77 p. 125 (PL 215: 360).

plenary indulgences for the Spanish crusade led by King Alfonso VIII of Castile, and these were not compared to the indulgences for the Holy Land.<sup>83</sup> With regard to the Baltic crusades, Innocent consistently used the *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* formula in its unspecified form. By comparison with the other examples this indicates that Innocent did not intend to grant plenary indulgences for the Baltic crusades, but it should be noted that even in letters about the crusade for the Holy Land he quite often used only the shorter, unspecified formula as well.

Both the longer and the shorter formulas of Innocent III mention the remission of sins only, and do not speak of the remission of penance. That Innocent still thought of participation in the crusade as something that earned merit for the crusader in the same way as a penance is, however, evident from a series of crusading bulls for the Albigensian crusade sent to French prelates and to King Philip Augustus in 1208 and 1209. Here, the pope explains to the prelates that "you shall promise that remission of sins which is granted by God and his vicar with firm conviction, so that this labor will be sufficient for the satisfaction of their sins for which they have already offered heartfelt contrition and true oral confession to the true God."<sup>84</sup>

In conclusion of this survey of the crusade indulgences from Paschal II to Innocent III it can be noted that the formula became more elaborated over time in the sense of distinguishing between different categories of crusaders and recipients of the indulgence. The theological refinement of the formula, however, did not make linear progress. The distinction between remission of sin and of penance was very clear with Gelasius II, who in 1118 granted a full absolution to those who died on the expedition and a partial remission of penances for the surviving crusaders in proportion to their efforts. In 1123, Calixtus II and the First Lateran Council referred to the precedence of Urban II as a remission of sins, and did not mention penances, but since they were granting plenary remissions for all crusaders it was not necessary to make a distinction. The same is the case with Eugenius III's indulgence for the Second Crusade, which also referred to the precedence of Urban II as *remissio peccatorum*. The differentiation is fully expounded in the bulls of Alexander III from 1166 and 1169. The explicit references to remissions of imposed penance in Alexander's bulls is explained by his policy of grading the indulgences according to the

83 PL 216: 353, 380, 513, 514.

84 "... suorum remissionem peccaminum a Deo eiusque vicario secure promittatis indultam, ut eis labor huiusmodi ad operis satisfactionem sufficiat super illis offensis, pro quibus cordis contritionem et oris confessionem veram obtulerint vero Deo." Reg. II no. 25 p. 33; cf. nos 153, 154 (PL 215: 1356, 1470, 1471), and PL 216: 159.

crusaders' time of service, granting plenary indulgences only to those who fought in the Holy Land for two years, or to those who died on the expeditions, whereas those who served for only one year in the Holy Land and those who fought in other theatres of war would get a partial indulgence. Thus the former received a remission of all their confessed sins, while the latter received remission of, e.g., half of their imposed penance.

Alexander III's immediate successors also distinguished between remission of sins and penances, but this disappeared with Innocent III, who did not mention remission of penances in either his longer or shorter formula. As we have seen, *remissio peccatorum* had tended to be the standard formula for crusade indulgences since Paschal II, which is probably the reason why it was preferred by Innocent III, even though applying it to the partial indulgences for sending money for the crusades did pose some theological ambiguities, as we saw above in chapter 3.2.4. In the end, tradition won over the attempts to find more theologically adequate expressions, and *remissio peccatorum* became the standard expression for the indulgence.

#### 4.2.2 *The Significance of the Various Formulas*

What should also be clear from the above is that the meaning of an individual decree of indulgences cannot be determined solely by looking at whether the formula contained the words *remissio peccatorum* or *remissio injunctae poenitentiae*. These words do not in themselves define the transcendental character of the decree, or the importance of the cause for which the decree was granted in the eyes of the papacy. In order to establish the significance of the various formulas used for indulgences and similar privileges, it is necessary to look at the contexts in which the formulas appear in twelfth-century papal documents, and to see for what purposes they were employed.

This kind of contextualisation is made possible by the Patrologia Latina Database, the electronic edition of the Patrologia Latina, the 221-volume collection of writings of the Latin Church fathers, including papal letters, up to Innocent III, which was published by Jacques-Paul Migne from 1844–1865. Migne's edition is notorious for its typographical errors and cases of misattributed authorship, and many of its texts are based on editions from the sixteenth century and have since appeared in newer, critical editions. The Patrologia Latina Database (PLD) was published in 1995, but no attempts were made to bring the editions of the texts up to date or to correct the typographical errors. Despite these errors, the printed Patrologia Latina is, however, still an acceptable source for most of its texts, and it remains the common standard for refer-

ence. The vastness of the material in the PLD also makes it an irreplaceable tool for electronic searches, but it must be used with caution.<sup>85</sup>

This survey concerns only the papal letters, and this means that the problem of older versus newer editions of texts is less relevant, since only a very few of the collections of papal letters have been edited anew.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, the collections of papal letters themselves cause many problems, first of all by the fact that they are by no means exhaustive. From our period, only the registers of Gregory VII and Innocent III have survived, and even for these popes we have only a fraction of their actual correspondence. For Innocent III, scholars estimate that the registers cover less than half, and perhaps as little as 20 per cent of his letters.<sup>87</sup> This means that a search in the PLD for formulas of indulgences will never be able to ensure that we find all the indulgences issued by the popes in question. Since the letters of different popes have survived in uneven proportion, we should also be careful in making comparisons between the popes.<sup>88</sup>

Despite these difficulties, the PLD is a unique tool, because it brings together collections of letters of all the popes in our period, and makes it possible to search for formulas of indulgences in order to see the contexts in which these formulas were used by the individual popes, and to get an impression of how common the different formulas were in relation to each other. Were remissions of penances more common than remissions of sins? On the other hand, the

85 The cases of misattributed authorship in the PL discovered before c. 1950 are summed up in P. Glorieux, "Pour revaloriser Migne. Tables rectatives" in *Mélanges de science religieuse* 9 (1952), pp. 1–82.

86 Gregory VII: *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. E. Caspar (1923; repr. 1955). *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and transl. H.E.J. Cowdrey (1972). Calixtus II, *Bullaire du pape Calixte 119–1124*, ed. U. Robert (1891). The registers of Innocent III are being edited by the Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rome, which has now published the years 1, 2 and 5 to 12 of his pontificate; *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, eds. O. Hageneder et al. (1964ff.). While the newer editions have been preferred in the remaining chapters, references to papal letters in chapters 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2 are generally to the editions in the PL since the references retrieved by the PLD search are to this edition.

87 See Torben K. Nielsen, *Bispetranslationer, politisk tænkning og kanonisk ret hos pave Innocens III i perioden 1198–1200*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Aarhus (1996), p. 79.

88 Another reason for caution is the fact that the browser of the PLD does not appear to be altogether stable, so figures cannot be taken too literally. In some cases it did not retrieve instances that I knew from other references. These instances have not been added to the figures in the tables, in the same way as instances which are not printed in the PL at all have not been added, because the priority has been to get a comparable material, rather than a material as complete as possible. The extra instances will be mentioned in the footnotes instead.

lack of uniformity of the papal collections themselves means that it is not possible to make statistics of the numbers as to how frequently one pope used these formulas in relation to other popes, or to calculate rates of increase in the use of particular formulas over time. The number of hits may to some extent be compared 'horizontally', within the individual pontificates, but not 'vertically' over time, from one pontificate to another.

I have run a search for each of the particular formulas that appear in the crusade indulgences referred to above, in order to find out how frequent they were in papal documents, and to find out for what purposes they were employed. In order to get an overview of their application, I performed the search in the Patrologia Latina editions of *Epistola et privilegia* or *Epistola et diplomata* of all eleventh- and twelfth-century popes from Sylvester II to Innocent III.<sup>89</sup> Limiting the search to the letters, privileges, and charters would leave out most of the instances in which the words appear not as formulas in grants, but in theological expositions. On the other hand, it also means that not all of the crusade indulgences in Appendix 1 will appear, as some are from chronicles or canons of councils, and as some of them do not appear in the Patrologia Latina at all.

The formulas covered by the search are forms of: *remissio peccatorum/peccaminum*, *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, *venia peccatorum/peccaminum*, *peccatorum absolutionem*, *peccatorum indulgentiam*, *criminum indulgentiam*, *delictorum absolutionem*, *veniam delictorum*, *poenitentiam relaxamus*, *poenitentiam indulgemus/indulgentiam*, *poenitentiam remissionem*, *poenitentiam reputetur*, *poenitentiam dimittimus*, *satisfactionem relaxamus*, which are the formulas that appear in the bulls referred to in the previous chapter. In each individual search, the words have been truncated in order to get both verbal and substantival forms, as well as different cases of the nouns; e.g. *venia\** & *pecca\**, *pecca\** & *absol\**, etc. In most searches, the browser was asked to find all instances where the two words occur within 10 words of each other. The exceptions are cases in which the words appear further apart in the formulas of the crusade bulls; in these cases the search has been set up to find all instances where the two words occur within e.g. 14 or 32 words, in accordance with the examples in the crusade bulls. After each search the list of instances was examined manually in order to sort out cases where the two words only incidentally occurred within ten words without being semantically connected. Instances where the phrases do not refer to grants of privileges, but are, for instance, part of a theological explanation about remissions of sins have also

89 All 36 popes from these two centuries are represented in the PL, except for John XVII, Damasus II, and Benedict X, whose pontificates were very short or disputed.



been sorted out. This procedure was chosen because the PLD browser does not separate between different sentences, or between different texts. The standard limit of ten words is of course somewhat arbitrary, and it is likely that more instances would have come up if, e.g., 30 or 35 words had been chosen as the parameters in all searches, but it would also have increased the number of false hits to an impractical level.

The results of the searches for the different formulas can be observed in Table 1 in Appendix 2. It should be noted that the figures in the table refer to the numbers of occurrences of the formula, not of bulls in which these were used, since sometimes the same formula was used more than once in an individual bull.

One very striking result is that formulas that mean forgiveness of sins are much more common than formulas that refer to remission of penances. In the letters and charters of the 33 popes from 1000 to 1216 who are represented in the PL, I have found 418 instances where the formulas for remissions of sins are employed to signify a grant. By comparison, I have found only 26 instances where the formulas that refer to remissions of penances in the crusade bulls are used for or about an actual grant of remission of penance.

#### 4.2.2.1 Remissions of Sins

The phrase *remissio peccatorum* was found 233 times. Of these, 167 were instances of the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, 21 were instances of the alternative formulas *in peccatorum remissionem cohortamini*, *in peccatorum remissionem mandamus*, *in remissionem proficiat peccatorum*, etc. *Pro remissione peccatorum* occurred nine times, *ad remissionem peccatorum* once. Only 35 times did *remissio peccatorum* occur without *in*, *pro* or *ad*.<sup>90</sup> The results of the searches for the other formulas of remissions of sins are: *venia peccatorum*: 69, *peccatorum absolutionem/absolvimus*: 72, *peccatorum indulgentia/indulgemus*: 27, *delictorum absolutionem*: five, and *veniam delictorum*: ten. The formula *criminum indulgentiam* occurs only twice in papal decrees: in the crusade bulls of Gregory VIII and Celestine III.<sup>91</sup>

90 The search was set up for (remis\* within 10 words of pecca\*), which covers all these formulas, and then they were sorted manually.

91 These searches were set up for (venia\* within 12 words of pecca\*), (pecca\* within 10 words of absol\*), (peccat\* within 10 words of indulg\*), and (criminum within 10 words of indulg\*).

*In Remissionem Peccatorum Injungimus and Remissio Peccatorum*

By far, the most frequent formula in the survey is *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, and its alternative formulations. It is difficult to determine the precise meaning of this formula and its relation to the formula *remissio peccatorum*, as was already remarked by H.C. Lea:

It would be interesting to trace in detail, did space admit, the use of the formulas “*remissio peccatorum*” and “*in remissionem peccatorum*”. The former long continued to mean a plenary indulgence; the latter speedily came to be scarce more than a rhetorical flourish, which might mean anything to the grantee while binding the grantor to nothing.<sup>92</sup>

While Lea thus regarded *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* as a mere rhetorical platitude, and other scholars have seen it as a phrase of courtesy, yet others have found that it denotes actual, positive remissions of sins, or even grants of indulgences.<sup>93</sup> According to N. Paulus, however, the formula is not in itself an indulgence, but it is often used together with an indulgence in papal decrees. He calls it a “Mahnungsformel” – a formula of injunction.<sup>94</sup> As noted above, the basic meaning of the formula is that the pope calls on or enjoins somebody to do a particular act for the remission of his or her sins. Thus, it does not meet Paulus’ criterion of an indulgence: it does not remit a specific amount of penance. On the other hand, it is not a matter of mere rhetoric either, according to Paulus. The specific meaning of the formula is that the pope or prelate declares that the performance of the enjoined work would be not only meritorious, but have an even greater value than usual and earn a greater share in salvation for the recipient. This greater value comes from the obedience that the person is showing towards the Church by doing what he is enjoined to do.<sup>95</sup> Thus, the employment of the formula does imply a gift of grace, as the recipient would be able to earn more merit by doing less.

The picture becomes a little muddled, however, by the fact that even if the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* did not in itself constitute an actual indulgence, it was still in some cases used to signify one. Even Paulus regards the employment of it by Urban II and Paschal II for the First Crusade as real crusade indulgences, because these were plenary remissions, and thus a

<sup>92</sup> Lea III 1896, p. 58 note 4.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Paulus I p. 120.

<sup>94</sup> Paulus I p. 122.

<sup>95</sup> Paulus I pp. 130–1.

definite measure of remission was implied;<sup>96</sup> and as we have already noted, it was clearly regarded as a formula of indulgences by Innocent III in many cases. On the other hand, Paulus quotes many instances (and the PLD search found more) which do not seem to mean indulgences, because a specific amount of remission is not mentioned. The confusion becomes complete by the fact that it is the very same popes who use the formula both unspecified and for definite indulgences, and sometimes even as a preamble to a remission of a specific amount of penances. Paulus refers to examples of these multiple meanings from the decrees of Innocent II, Eugenius III, Hadrian IV, Alexander III, Lucius III, Urban III, Celestine III, and Innocent III.<sup>97</sup> The popes themselves do not seem to have been decided as to the meaning of the formula, then, and the only certain conclusion is that, while it was not generally regarded as a formula of indulgences by the popes of the twelfth century, the meaning of the formula was in no way fixed.

According to Paulus' account, the formula first began to appear in papal documents by the middle of the eleventh century, and he quotes a passage in a chronicle about Leo IX in 1049 as the earliest example. The formula then reached its final form under Paschal II, and from this time on it was used more and more frequently by the papacy.<sup>98</sup>

This account is consistent with the results of the PLD search, which found no earlier examples than those of Paschal II, and which also confirms that it was used frequently after this point. Almost all the popes after Paschal II used the formula several times, and in the PLD search this formula covers 50 per cent of all the instances of remissions of sins from Paschal II to Innocent III.<sup>99</sup> This suggests that the *injungimus* formula was very popular. The search also suggests that Innocent III was particularly fond of this formula, which he and the Fourth Lateran Council declared to be the standard formula for indulgences. 104 instances were found in his letters, which is 67 per cent of the total number of 153 instances of remissions of sins from his decrees. The figures must not be taken too literally, as already stated, but at least we may say that the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* comes out as overrepresented in the letters of Innocent III. It also appears that Innocent III very rarely used *remissio peccatorum* without *injungimus*, or another word that indicated that the task was enjoined *for* this remission, since only nine instances were found.

96 Paulus I pp. 122–3.

97 Paulus I pp. 124–8.

98 Paulus I pp. 120–3.

99 I.e. 167 out of the 331 instances of remissions of sins from Paschal II to Innocent III.

A detailed investigation into the use of *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* and *remissio peccatorum* respectively, as suggested by Lea in the quotation above, is still lacking. My own research on their use in papal documents shows that both were in fact used about plenary indulgences, but are then qualified by an “omnium”, or it is stated that this is the same indulgence as the one granted by Urban II and Eugenius III.

However, the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* might indeed, as stated by Lea, have been taken a little more lightly by the papacy, because it was not binding the grantor to anything. This is a difficult statement to either prove or refute, but the mere number of instances of this formula does suggest that the popes did not think that they had to economize on it. Also, the fact that it often appears in the *exhortatio* of a document that has an evident indulgence formula in the *statuta* points in this direction; if it was used as an exhortation, then it was not in itself the actual indulgence formula but something that might be said more generally. Even if it might be too harsh to call it “scarce more than a rhetorical flourish”, I would agree that the use of *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* was less binding for the grantor than a direct grant of remission of sins. It was a “Mahnungsformel”, and the remission was only in effect on the condition that the recipient actually performed the enjoined work. Also, in the cases where it is not stated how full this remission would be it might very well have been intended to mean something like “this work is a good thing and will, all things being equal, be pertaining to your salvation”.

As noted, the phrase *remissio peccatorum* without an “in” or “pro” or injunction is more infrequent. In some rare cases, it appears to have been used a little ‘loosely’ in general statements,<sup>100</sup> but from the time of Eugenius III and onwards it is only used about specific remissions, either with the qualification *omnium peccatorum* or “remission of one year”,<sup>101</sup> or it refers to a certain, already established remission, in most instances the plenary crusade indulgence.<sup>102</sup> At least for the latter part of our period, then, it may be concluded

100 As in the *sanctio* of some privileges by Calixtus II, PL 163: 1181–2: “Cunctis autem, qui observatores existiterint, beatissimi Patris nostri Benedicti precibus, omnipotentis Dei, et apostolorum Petri et Pauli gratia et benedictio, et peccatorum remissio tribuatur. Amen.” PL 163: 1314–1315: “Qui vero locum ipsum et fratres juvare, atque de bonis suis honorare curaverit Dei omnipotentis gratiam, et peccatorum suorum remissionem, et indulgentiam consequantur.” In most of his other privileges Calixtus used the conventional *sanctio* formula, quoted below from Eugenius III, see note 128. *Remissio peccatorum* was also found once in a *sanctio* of a privilege by Innocent II, PL 179: 95–6.

101 Alexander III, PL 200: 860.

102 Eugenius III, PL 180: 1065, 1230, 1414. Alexander III, PL 200: 922, 1296. Lucius III, PL 201: 1198. Celestine III, PL 206: 1247. Innocent III, PL 214: 514; PL 217: 257, 270.

that the *remissio peccatorum* formula without correlations generally was of more value than the *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* formula, because the former was specified. On the other hand, the latter formula was also sometimes applied *in remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus*, for instance by Alexander III and Innocent III. In some of the cases in which Alexander uses it, i.e. in the concluding paragraphs of the crusading bulls of 1166, 1169, and 1181, this cannot be understood as a plenary indulgence, as it would then contradict with the stipulations in the *statuta*, that those who served for one year would only get an indulgence of half their penance.<sup>103</sup> However, with Innocent III, it certainly sometimes did refer to the plenary crusading indulgence, as in *Utinam Dominus* for the Holy Land in 1208, but in other cases it meant the partial crusading indulgence for sending subsidies.<sup>104</sup>

The two formulas were, however, applied for the same kind of purposes, and in the following they will be dealt with more or less as one.

#### *The Employment of the Formulas of Remissions of Sins*

The material does not allow for making actual statistics of the individual formulas, but we might perhaps discern a change of “fashion” in the expressions for remissions of sins. *Peccatorum absolutionem* is much more frequent in the earlier part of our period, whereas it occurs only once in the letters of Innocent III, who, on the other hand, is responsible for 104 of the 167 instances of *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, though these figures should of course be taken with more than a grain of salt. *Remissio peccatorum*, with or without injunctions, is only found 11 times in the eleventh-century decrees, where *venia peccatorum* and *peccatorum absolutionem* were used instead.

Apart from these shifts in ‘fashion’ over time, the formulas appear to have been more or less interchangeable, and to have been employed for the same kind of purposes, which can be divided into four major groups: 1) crusades and other holy wars, 2) admonitions for individual princes, 3) privileges for monasteries and churches, and 4) instructions for prelates and abbots. The figures for these four groups are presented in Table 2 in Appendix 2. All in all, these four groups cover 364 instances (87 per cent) of the total number of grants of remissions of sins found in the PLD search. The rest appear in letters addressed to the people of a country or of a particular town, letters about the matters of the Church, or in general pastoral letters.

The largest group is remissions granted for crusades and holy wars, which cover about 34 per cent of all the remissions of sins found in the search. This

103 See above notes 68 and 69. The same conclusion was reached by Paulus I pp. 126–7.

104 *Utinam Dominus*: PL 215: 1502. Other cases: PL 215: 360; PL 216: 353, 380. Cf. Paulus I p. 128.

should not necessarily lead to the conclusion that one-third of the remissions granted by the popes were for crusades. It is to be expected that crusades are overrepresented in the search, as it was set up especially for the formulas used in the crusade bulls and as different formulas tended to be more or less standard for different purposes.

The second group, admonitions for individual princes, is the second largest and covers 23 per cent of all remissions of sins. In these admonitions, the popes often prescribed or exhorted an individual, lay prince to intervene on their behalf in local disputes, or to pursue the interests of the papacy in large-scale political issues. For example, Pope Gregory VII wrote to King Sancho of Aragon in 1075 on the matter of a bishop who wanted to abdicate, and of another who had been elected bishop, but whose birth was illegitimate. The pope stated what would be the proper policy in such cases, and at the end of the letter he asked the king to see to it that the bishop followed his instructions: "Therefore, my dear son, consider this matter with prudence, and help the bishop to observe our instructions as much as you can, so that you will be worthy of ruling the people that has been entrusted to you by blessed Peter, prince of apostles, and so that you by his merits, solved from the chains of your sins, will be worthy of enjoying eternal bliss in the kingdom of Christ and God."<sup>105</sup> These kinds of spiritual promises are found in admonitions by nearly all the popes covered by the search. In the case just quoted, the king was promised a reward if he would intervene in an ecclesiastical matter on the pope's behalf. In other cases, the object of the admonition was to make the prince change his policy or behaviour on a certain matter, and at the other end of our survey we have the example of Innocent III, urging the French king Philip Augustus to repudiate his concubine, Agnes of Meran, and take back Ingeborg of Denmark as his lawful wife and queen. Pope Innocent described the great scandal this affair was causing, and that the alleged proofs of consanguinity between Ingeborg and his first wife, Elisabeth of Hainaut, which Philip Augustus had claimed as grounds for a divorce, had been questioned. Therefore, the pope requested the king, admonished and exhorted him in God and enjoined him for the remission of his sins to consider having the question of consanguinity tried once more.<sup>106</sup> This case, which Philip Augustus might have regarded as a personal matter, and which he had expected to be a matter between himself and his

105 PL 148: 402: "Haec igitur, dilecte fili, prudenter considera, et ad observanda nostra monita episcopum, quantum potes, adjuva, quatenus et tu a beato Petro apostolorum principe ad regendum tibi commissum populum adjuvari, ejusque meritis a peccatorum tuorum vinculis absolutus aeternae beatudinis gloria in regno Christi et Dei merearis perfrui."

106 PL 214: 149 = Reg. 1 no. 171 p. 245: "rogamus serenitatem regiam, monemus et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, per apostolica tibi scripta

French prelates, became a test case for Innocent III's ambitions of enforcing the canonical rules of marriage and divorce, which is probably the reason why the pope used the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, which for Innocent was a strong admonition.<sup>107</sup>

Some of the instances of admonitions to lay princes are linked to the question of crusading, as for instance in a letter from Paschal II to Count Robert of Flanders from 1103, in which the pope mentions him as a crusader and an instrument of God, before he exhorts him to expel the adherents of the schismatic emperor from churches in his lands.<sup>108</sup> A substantial part of the admonitions from the popes are actually directly on crusading, admonishing princes to go on crusade or to support the crusade. These have, however, been counted in the first group.

In the rest of this section we will turn to how the individual popes employed the various formulas; to what formulas they used for crusades, and what other purposes they used the same formulas for in order to determine the "value" of a crusade indulgence – were the same indulgence formulas employed only for very serious matters, or were they granted for large and small issues alike?

The earliest examples in the search of remissions of sins for participation in holy wars were granted by Gregory VII, who used the formula *peccatorum absolutionem* for this purpose at least three times: in 1074, in a letter for Emperor Henry about achieving unity with the Eastern Church and fighting the infidel in the planned 'proto crusade' in 1075, in a letter for the bishop of Achern about Count Roger and his men who were fighting against the infidel; and in 1080, in a letter for the bishops of Apulia and Calabria about military aid for the Eastern emperor.<sup>109</sup> He used the same formula 13 times in admonitions for the lay nobility and seven times in instructions for prelates and abbots on other matters. Many of these, and also of the admonitions contained in his general pastoral letters, were occasioned by the contest over investitures, the fight against simony and the excommunication of the German emperor, and also by Gregory's demand that the Spanish church introduce the Roman rite after the reconquest from the Muslims.<sup>110</sup> It is not found in privileges for churches. The

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mandantes quatinus in te ipsum aciem tue considerationis reflectens, sic tuos actus diiudices, ut ab aliis non debeas iudicari."

107 On this case, see for instance John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex. Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (1994).

108 PL 163: 108.

109 PL 148: 385–7, 442, 580. These letters have since appeared in the edition of E. Caspar 1923, which I have used in chapter 2.2 above.

110 Cf. PL 148: 267, 367–8, 401–2, 412, 421, 451–3, 454–6, 456–8, 484–8, 509, 614, 625.

formula does appear to have been used by him also as a general formula of salutations, but usually the formulations are quite elaborate, and they show full confidence that the promised remission is valid in the sight of God on the authority of the apostles.<sup>111</sup>

Urban II used the formula *peccatorum absolutionem* once for crusades, in the letter for the clergy in Bologna about the crusade in 1096,<sup>112</sup> and this formula was found seven more times in his decrees; four are in privileges for canons and cenobites, one is in a letter of privileges for Count Roger of Sicily, and two are in letters for bishops, related to the issues of reform.<sup>113</sup> He used *in remissionem peccatorum* twice for crusade-related issues: in 1088, in a letter for King Alfonsus of Galicia congratulating him on the siege of Toledo and commending him to accept Archbishop Bernard of Toledo as primate of Spain, and in 1089 for the reconstruction of the church in Tarragona.<sup>114</sup> The same formula was found only twice more in his decrees, both in letters for Count Robert of Flanders, admonishing him to restore to the church in Arras some property that had been entrusted to the bishop of Cambrai.<sup>115</sup>

Paschal II used the formula *remissio peccatorum* once, *venia peccatorum* twice, and *peccatorum absolutionem* three times for crusades, according to the PLD search.<sup>116</sup> The same formulas are found employed by him both for other matters of high politics and in privileges. *Remissio peccatorum* is found four more times in his decrees; the first is the admonition mentioned above for Robert of Flanders on expelling the schismatics; the second is for Baldwin of Flanders for protecting the church in Arras; a third for 12 arbiters in a dispute involving the clerics of the same church; and the fourth for the French king Philip.<sup>117</sup> *Venia peccatorum* is found once in a privilege, and once for the count of Meulan [Mellento] on the contest of investitures.<sup>118</sup> *Peccatorum absolutionem* is found four more times; once in an admonition to a Count Eustace on behalf of the bishop of Arras, once in a privilege for a church, and twice in

111 As salutations in PL 148: 677, 691, 708. The full formula e.g. in the letter for Emperor Henry on the 'proto-crusade' in PL 148: 387: "Omnipotentis Deus, a quo cuncta bona procedunt; meritis et auctoritate beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, a cunctis peccatis te absolvat, et per viam mandatorum suorum incedere faciat, atque ad vitam aeternam perducatur."

112 PL 151: 483.

113 Privileges: PL 151: 317–8, 337–9, 339–41, 408. Roger: 506. Bishops: 376–8, 527.

114 PL 151: 289–90, 302–3.

115 PL 151: 385, 406.

116 PL 163: 44, 44, 45, 33, 43, 366.

117 PL 163: 108, 335, 216.

118 PL 163: 164, 154.



letters for prelates, one of these for Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury on finding harmony with the English king in the question of investitures.<sup>119</sup>

Gelasius II wrote *peccatorum absolvimus* in the letter for the Christian army besieging Saragossa in 1118,<sup>120</sup> which was the only time he granted a remission of sins, according to the PLD search.

Calixtus II used *remissio peccatorum* once for crusades, according to the PLD search: in the bull for Spain from 1123.<sup>121</sup> In the decrees of Calixtus II, this formula appears five times in privileges for churches, and once in an admonition to Count Otto of Palatin to expiate the sin of having captured Pope Paschal II by building a church for the honour of God and the salvation of his soul. In addition, it is found on two occasions in letters for people who were making a donation to a church.<sup>122</sup>

Innocent II did not grant remissions directly for crusades, but in 1130 he issued a privilege for the Hospitallers of St. John in Jerusalem because of their role in the liberation of the Oriental Church, enjoining them to take care of the pilgrims *in remissionem peccatorum*.<sup>123</sup> Also, in a letter from 1138 for all Latin Christians in the army of the king (*sic*) of Constantinople or living in his country, Innocent II was addressing those who had previously taken part in the crusades, strongly admonishing them – *in peccatorum remissionem injungimus* – not to take part in the king's occupation of Antioch.<sup>124</sup> This formula is found eight times in his privileges, twice in instructions for prelates, and once in an admonition to King Louis of France to protect the rights of the church of Rheims.<sup>125</sup> It is also found in a letter to the bishops of Spain about those who made pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>126</sup>

Eugenius III wrote *remissio peccatorum* three times in the crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores*, one of these as an injunction, and added *peccatorum absolutionem* twice in the same bull. In addition, he granted *remissio peccatorum* in the bull *Divini dispensatione*, and in a letter to Abbot Suger of St-Denis from April 1150, he referred to and confirmed his earlier grant.<sup>127</sup> Neither of

119 PL 163: 140, 192, 186, 197.

120 PL 163: 508.

121 PL 163: 1305. His grant of *remissio peccatorum* for crusades at the First Lateran Council will not appear in the PLD search, of course.

122 Privileges: PL 163: 93, 1120, 1176, 1181, 1314. Otto: 1248. Donations: 1115, 1182.

123 PL 179: 77–8. In this same privilege Innocent also granted a remission of 1/7 of penances for those who would make a contribution to the order. See below note 183.

124 PL 179: 354–5.

125 Privileges: PL 179: 92, 95, 104, 116, 429, 567, 567. Instructions: 279, 361. Louis: 497.

126 PL 179: 59.

127 PL 180: 1414: “remissionem peccatorum sicut in aliis litteris nostris continetur.”

these formulas are found employed for grants of remissions in privileges by Eugenius III; in fact, the PLD search found no instances of remissions of sins in Eugenius' privileges at all.<sup>128</sup> The formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* was, however, found four times in admonitions to princes and once in an instruction to an abbot. It was also found in a letter to all faithful in Bohemia on the importance of celibacy.<sup>129</sup> *Peccatorum absolutionem* was not found anywhere except in *Quantum praedecessores*.

Anastasius IV granted *remissio peccatorum* and *peccatorum absolutionem* in a bull to crusaders in Spain in 1153/54, but this did not come up in the search, since this bull is not printed in the PL.<sup>130</sup> The search found no other instances of formulas of indulgences from his pontificate.

Hadrian IV urged King Louis of France to fight for the expansion of Christendom against the pagans *in peccatorum remissionem* in 1159, and he granted *venia peccatorum* to the castle of Grasse for protecting a monastery against the attacks of the Saracens.<sup>131</sup> *In remissionem peccatorum injungimus* was employed by him three more times in admonitions for princes, and once in an instruction to the archbishop of Narbonne.<sup>132</sup> *Venia peccatorum* was employed twice, both times in confirmations of privileges for monasteries.<sup>133</sup> In addition, Hadrian used the formula *veniam delictorum* twice for or about crusades, in the crusading bull *Quantum strenui* from 1157, and in a letter concerning the participants in an expedition of William of Montpellier.<sup>134</sup> This formula was not found in other decrees from this pope.

Alexander III used *remissio peccatorum* or *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* 15 times for crusades; 13 of these are in the crusading bulls mentioned above, and two are in the bull *Omne datum optimum* for the Templars.<sup>135</sup> All in all, these formulas were found 32 times in his decrees, and thus they appear to have been his favourite formulas. *In remissionem peccatorum injungimus* was

<sup>128</sup> The *Epistolae et privilegia* of Eugenius III in PL 180 covers col. 1013–1614 and is swarming with privileges, but they generally contain no further spiritual promises than the conventional *sanctio* formula: “Cunctis autem eidem loco justa servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quatenus et hic fructum bonae actionis percipiant, et apud districtum iudicem praemia aeternae pacis inveniant. Amen, amen, amen.” See PL 180: 1020, 1021, 1025, 1028, 1030, 1033, 1036, 1037, 1043, 1048, 1049, 1051, etc.

<sup>129</sup> For princes: PL 180: 1143, 1227, 1454, 1509. Abbot: 1510. Bohemia: 1142.

<sup>130</sup> Ed. Kehr pp. 346–7.

<sup>131</sup> PL 188: 1616, 1581.

<sup>132</sup> PL 188: 1425, 1546, 1592, 1542.

<sup>133</sup> PL 188: 1512, 1515.

<sup>134</sup> PL 188: 1538, 1603.

<sup>135</sup> PL 220: 919–23.

employed by him in privileges three times; the remaining instances are for matters of high politics, in which the pope tried to persuade lay princes or high ranking ecclesiastics to act in the interests of the Roman see, and to support his side during the papal schism from 1159 to 1177. 12 are for lay princes; of these, five are for the French king Louis, who was admonished to protect the rights of certain churches in his kingdom, and not to communicate with the excommunicated.<sup>136</sup> Four are on the dispute between the English king and Archbishop Thomas Becket, in which King Henry was admonished to restore the archbishop to favour. The English king was also exhorted to call the Irish nation back to the Christian faith, for the remission of his own sins.<sup>137</sup> Two instances are in letters for ecclesiastics, both on the matter of the Schism.<sup>138</sup>

In addition, Alexander III used *peccatorum absolutionem* twice for crusades, both times in *Quantum praedecessores*, repeating the words of Eugenius III, and the PLD search found only one more instance in which he used this formula, which at this time seems to have become a little out of fashion: in a privilege for the church of St. Mark in Venice, granting what apparently was a plenary indulgence, even though this would then be a singular example of a plenary indulgence for visiting a church in our period.<sup>139</sup> *Peccatorum indulgentiam* was employed four times for crusades by Alexander III,<sup>140</sup> and he used it once in a privilege for a church on the occasion of the translation of the bones of St. Clement.<sup>141</sup>

In *Cor nostrum*, Alexander III also used the formula *absolutionem delictorum*, but according to the PLD search he did not use this formula again or for other purposes. However, the search found five instances of the formula *venia delictorum*, which he did not use for crusades, in his admonitions and privileges; once for King Louis of France on the protection of a monastery, and once for Henry of England if he would reconcile with Thomas Becket.<sup>142</sup> The latter

136 PL 200: 262, 320, 468, 707, 1256.

137 Becket: PL 200: 480, 507, 511, 586, 642. Ireland: 884.

138 PL 200: 170, 561.

139 "plenam omnium peccatorum suorum absolutionem concedimus", PL 200: 1319. The size of this indulgence makes it suspicious since Alexander granted indulgences of one year for pilgrimages to Jerusalem and 1–3 years for pilgrimages to Rome, and usually one year or 20 days for the consecration of churches, cf. Paulus 1 pp. 166–167. Paulus does not mention the grant for St. Mark in Venice here, nor in his chapter on indulgences for pious works (11 pp. 226–36), nor on false indulgences (11 pp. 292–338).

140 PL 200: 600, 860, 1295, 1296.

141 PL 200: 682.

142 PL 200: 321, 572.

case was also the subject of two admonitions to prelates and clergy.<sup>143</sup> The last instance is for a church that was granted the privilege that on the anniversary of the translation of St. Clement, all its visitors would gain an indulgence.<sup>144</sup>

Lucius III reissued *Omne datum optimum* in April 1183, thus repeating the double grant of *remissio peccatorum* of Alexander's bull.<sup>145</sup> In addition, he used this formula once in a letter for King Henry of England,<sup>146</sup> but the PLD search found no instances of the other formulas of remissions of sins from his pontificate.

Urban III was not involved in crusades and consequently did not grant remissions for them, but according to the PLD search, he employed the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* five times; twice in admonitions for the kings of Scotland and England, once in a privilege for the monastery Montmajour, once in connection with a division of a parish in Valenciennes, and once in an admonition for the faithful in Ravenna and Ferrara that they should assist some monks in building a bridge. The faithful of Ravenna were also admonished once for their *venia peccatorum* to give alms in support of the construction of a bridge. These are the only instances found in the search of papal privileges for the construction of bridges, even though indulgences were often issued for this purpose.<sup>147</sup>

Gregory VIII used none of these formulas for any purpose, according to the PLD search, but invented his own for his crusading bull *Audita tremendi* of 1187: *criminum indulgentiam*. He might have repeated the formula in the lost bull *Cum divina patientia*, but does not seem to have employed it for any other purpose during his very short pontificate of only two months. In fact, *criminum indulgentiam* only appears at one other instance in the PLD search: in the crusading bull *Misericors et miserator* of Celestine III from 1195. In this same bull, Celestine also employed the formula *venia peccatorum*, which is not found in any of his other decrees either. However, he did employ the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* once for crusades, in a letter to the English archbishops and bishops.<sup>148</sup> This formula was also employed by him twice in the precarious divorce case of King Philip Augustus of France and Ingeborg of Denmark; the first time in a letter to the Archbishop of Sens, the second in a letter to the king himself, admonishing him, for the remission of his sins, not to

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143 PL 200: 487, 639.

144 PL 200: 682.

145 PL 201: 1195–9.

146 PL 201: 1311.

147 PL 202: 1466, 1480. See Paulus II pp. 247–62.

148 PL 206: 972.

proceed with the divorce.<sup>149</sup> He also employed it four times in privileges for ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>150</sup>

Innocent III employed the formulas *remissio peccatorum* or *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* 64 times for crusades, according to the PLD search, which is a little more than half of the times he used these formulas all in all (122 times). By comparison, he used them 30 times in admonitions for individual, lay princes on other matters, 14 times in instructions for prelates and abbots, and only twice in privileges for churches and monasteries. *Remissio peccatorum* and *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* appear in letters and decrees promising support for the crusade of Emperor Henry IV in 1198;<sup>151</sup> related to Pope Innocent's efforts to launch and direct the Fourth Crusade from 1198 to 1207;<sup>152</sup> to further support for the Holy Land in the period 1208 to 1213;<sup>153</sup> to launch the Fifth Crusade from 1213 to 1216;<sup>154</sup> for the crusade against Markward of Anweiler;<sup>155</sup> for the Albigensian Crusades;<sup>156</sup> for the crusades in Spain;<sup>157</sup> in the Baltic;<sup>158</sup> and the fight against the heretics in Hungary.<sup>159</sup>

Innocent III also employed the formula *venia peccatorum* 21 times, and *peccatorum indulgentiam* four times for crusades. *Venia peccatorum* often appears in these same letters and decrees as a supplement to the *remissio* formulas,<sup>160</sup> and only very seldom does it stand alone in decrees related to crusades.<sup>161</sup> It is not found very often in decrees not related to crusades, either, and only once in a privilege. It is not found in admonitions for lay princes on other matters than crusades. The formula *peccatorum indulgentiam* is found only five times in the decrees of Innocent III, and these are all but one in decrees related to crusading: for the Albigensian Crusade, for the crusade in Spain, and for sending aid

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149 PL 206: 1096, 1098.

150 PL 206: 1106, 1210, 1248, 1248.

151 PL 214: 10–11.

152 PL 214: 263, 263, 326, 329, 375, 385, 386, 771, 809, 815, 827, 830, 830, 832. PL 215: 698, 705, 710–14, 854, 1131–2.

153 PL 215: 1502. PL 216: 36, 152, 153, 156, 433–4.

154 PL 216: 822. PL 217: 270.

155 PL 214: 514, 780.

156 PL 214: 82. PL 215: 359, 360, 362, 501–3, 526–28, 1024–5, 1246, 1246, 1354, 1358, 1359, 1469, 1470, 1470, 1545, 1445–6. PL 216: 97, 99, 158, 158, 160.

157 PL 214: 143. PL 216: 353, 380, 513, 514.

158 PL 214: 739. PL 216: 116, 118, 919. PL 217: 54, 257.

159 PL 214: 872.

160 PL 214: 263, 311, 311, (375), 384, 780, 828, 828, 832, 832. PL 215: 362, 528, 1500, 1500. PL 216: 818, 818.

161 PL 214: 418, 493. PL 216: 290.

to the Holy Land.<sup>162</sup> The last example is in a privilege for Fossanova of an indulgence of one year at the consecration of an altar.<sup>163</sup>

*In remissionem peccatorum injungimus* appears to have been the favourite formula of Innocent III, both in connection with crusades and for other purposes, and as mentioned above, only nine instances were found in which he used *remissio peccatorum* without *injungimus* or the like. All but one refer to crusade indulgences; the last example is about the same indulgence for Fossanova.<sup>164</sup> The issues for which Innocent III employed the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* in letters for lay princes were generally matters of high politics. The French king, Philip Augustus, was the recipient of a substantial part of these admonitions, and these were brought about both by his divorce case and because of the war with the English king, which he was asked to put an end to for the sake of going on crusade.<sup>165</sup> The English kings also received admonitions, mostly to protect English ecclesiastical institutions or not to harm “the freedom of the Church”.<sup>166</sup> This was also enjoined on the English princes in general.<sup>167</sup> In addition, Innocent III sent admonitions to do justice to the Church for the kings of Hungary, Castile, Aragon, and Denmark.<sup>168</sup> He also sent this kind of admonitions to the count of Tripoli and the king of Armenia, enjoining them to pursue the policy of the papacy.<sup>169</sup> There are only a few examples of Innocent III employing the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus* in letters for princes under the level of kings, and when he did so it was usually somehow related to crusading, as for example in a letter to the count of Toulouse from 1198, urging the count to reconcile himself with the Church, and enjoining him to take up arms against the pagans for the remission of his sins.<sup>170</sup> The formula was found only once in a privilege for a monastery, Montmajour, which is very few, considering the total number of remissions from this pontificate.<sup>171</sup>

162 PL 214: 83, 142. PL 215: 634, 1361.

163 PL 215: 1435.

164 PL 214: 553. PL 215: 698, 1354, 1469, 1470. PL 216: 158. PL 217: 257, 270. Fossanova: PL 215: 1435.

165 Divorce case: PL 214: 4, 149, 321. Peace with English king: PL 214: 321, 329, 553. PL 215: 64.

166 PL 214: 452, 972, 1157. PL 215: 61, 219, 485–6, 1406–8, 1535–37. King Richard the Lionheart was also sent the same admonition as the French king to assume peace and go on crusade, but this grant does not occur in the search, because it is not printed in full; cf. PL 214: 330d.

167 PL 215: 1254–5.

168 Hungary: PL 214: 644, PL 215: 410–12. Castile: PL 215: 99. Aragon: PL 215: 568–9. Denmark: PL 215: 194–8.

169 PL 216: 48, 55.

170 PL 214: 374–5.

171 PL 214: 947.

### *Conclusion*

About one-third of the remissions of sins found in this search were granted for crusades or other holy wars. This is a fairly high number, but as already stated, we cannot move directly to the conclusion that one-third of all remissions of sins granted by the popes in the period were in fact granted for crusades, since the search was set up especially for the formulas used in the crusade bulls, and the crusade indulgences may consequently be overrepresented in the material.

The contextualisation of the formulas provided by the search has, however, revealed some differences in the purposes the popes used the formulas for. Thus, a substantial amount (19 per cent) of the remissions of sins occurs in privileges and confirmations of privileges for monasteries and churches, although not in the privileges of Eugenius III and Innocent III. These two popes thus appear to have preferred other formulas for this kind of privileges. With Innocent III, perhaps the material is large enough for us to conclude that he seems to have made the formulas he used for crusades more exclusive to this purpose. The differences found in the ways the individual popes used the formulas also demonstrate that whether the remissions of sins are to be understood as actual indulgences, or as either special or ordinary indulgences, must be determined in each individual case and with consideration to how this pope generally used the formula.

The PLD search has also revealed that the popes generally used the formulas found in the crusade bulls for important matters. After the crusade bulls and admonitions to support crusades, most of the instances are found in admonitions to lay princes (23 per cent) or high-ranking prelates (10 per cent) on other matters. Often an individual, lay prince is urged to do something specific for a particular ecclesiastical institution, e.g. to found a monastery, or to restore its property. Very often, it is the big political issues that surface in the material, and the lay or ecclesiastical authorities are admonished to follow the policy of the Roman see in the contest of investitures, in a papal schism, in the Thomas Becket case, etc. In this respect, there is a continuity between the remissions granted for crusades and the admonitions for princes on other matters. Both the cause of the crusades and the cause of the reform programme were regarded as fights for the Church, for its rights and for faith, and for the true order of the world. In this material, we see that the same language was used in privileges and admonitions to princes to pursue both causes.

#### 4.2.2.2 Remissions of Penances

All the formulas that refer to remissions of penances in the crusade bulls are much rarer than the formulas that refer to remissions of sins (please see Table

1). A total number of 26 instances makes this material unsuitable as a basis for statistics, but small enough to be examined, formula by formula:

*Poenitentia Reputetur*

These were the words of the second canon of the council of Clermont in 1095, as reported by Lambert of Arras.<sup>172</sup> The PLD search found no instances of them as a term in papal documents of the eleventh and twelfth century,<sup>173</sup> so we may conclude that they did not represent an actual formula in 1095, and that they did not catch on as one.

*Poenitentiam Dimittimus*

According to the PLD search, these words from Pope Urban II's letter for Bologna in 1096<sup>174</sup> did not form a familiar phrase, either.<sup>175</sup> They are found in only one other instance: in a privilege allegedly granted by Sergius IV in 1010 for the church at Correns, a monastery affiliated to Montmajour.<sup>176</sup> It promises those who visit the church at the anniversary of its consecration a remission of one-third of their penance. This would be a very early example of an actual indulgence, but according to N. Paulus, it is surely not genuine, but forged sometime in the twelfth century.<sup>177</sup>

*Poenitentiarum Remissionem*

This phrase was used in Pope Gelasius' letter to the Christian army at Saragossa in 1118, the bulls of Alexander III from 1166 and 1169, and was repeated in 1195 by Celestine III. The PLD search found six instances, four of which are from these very bulls.<sup>178</sup> Of the remaining two, one is the letter of Urban II for the reconstruction of the church in Tarragona in 1089.<sup>179</sup> The other is by Innocent III in a privilege for a hospital, also granting a remission of one year of penance.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Ed. Somerville 1972, p. 74. Mansi xx, 816.

<sup>173</sup> The search was set up for (poeniten\* within 10 words of reput\*).

<sup>174</sup> Hagenmeyer p. 137, PL 151: 483.

<sup>175</sup> The search was set up for (poeniten\* within 32 words of dimit\*) as the words are 30 words apart in Pope Urban's letter. Alternative searches were made for (paeniten\* within 32 words of dimit\*), (peniten\* within 32 words of dimit\*), and (poeniten\* within 32 words of dimis\*). None of these found any instances of the sort we are looking for.

<sup>176</sup> PL 139: 1520.

<sup>177</sup> Paulus I p. 137.

<sup>178</sup> The search was set up for (remissi\* within 10 words of poeniten\*).

<sup>179</sup> PL 151: 302- 3: "Vobis ergo in poenitentiam peccatorumque remissionem mandamus ..."

<sup>180</sup> PL 215: 1270: "remissionem unius anni de injunctis sibi poenitentiis indulgendo."



*Poenitentiarum Indulgentiam/Indulgemus*

This phrase, which also appears in the crusade bulls of Gelasius II and Alexander III (1181), does not appear to be very common, either. Nine instances were found.<sup>181</sup> Apart from the actual crusade bulls it is found in a few privileges for churches and monasteries,<sup>182</sup> and in privileges and letters that are somehow related to crusading and the fight against heretics: in the privilege from 1130 by Innocent II to the Hospitallers in Jerusalem, granting the benefactors of the Hospitallers a remission of one-seventh of their penances;<sup>183</sup> in the covering letter to the crusade bull *Inter omnia* by Alexander III to the Archbishop of Rheims;<sup>184</sup> in a letter of admonition from Innocent III to the consul and people in Milan [Mediolanensi] that they should not follow heretical teachings;<sup>185</sup> and again by Innocent III in a letter from 1213 to Cardinal Robert of Courson about the call for a new crusade and the call for the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>186</sup>

*Poenitentia Relaxamus*

This was the formula of the Third Lateran Council, and it is found nine times in the PLD search,<sup>187</sup> all but one in privileges for churches and convents.<sup>188</sup> The one example is from Innocent III's crusading bull, *Graves orientalis terrae*, which promises a relaxation of one-fourth of enjoined penances for all clerics who willingly pay the crusade tax for their church.<sup>189</sup>

181 The search was set up for (poeniten\* within 10 words of indulgen\*) and (poeniten\* within 10 words of indulgemus).

182 Eugenius III, PL 180: 1063, 1242. Celestine III, PL 206: 1210 (for the construction of the cathedral in Aarhus). Innocent III, PL 215: 1435.

183 PL 179: 77: "septimam partem injunctae poenitentiae confisi de beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum meritis indulgemus." This is the same formula as in the general privilege for the Templars, *Milites Templi Ierusalemiani*, which was reissued several times in the twelfth century, and of which the earliest known copy of the full text is from the time of Celestine II, from January 9, 1144. See Hiestand 1972, pp. 214–5.

184 PL 200: 601.

185 PL 216: 713.

186 PL 216: 827.

187 The search was set up for (poeniten\* within 10 words of relax\*).

188 Calixtus II: PL 163: 1121. Honorius II: PL 166: 1298. Alexander III: PL 200: 1319. Celestine III: PL 206: 1247. Innocent III: PL 214: 450, 865. PL 217: 177, 241.

189 PL 214: 829. Yet another example of the formula is in a confirmation of a truce between the church of Cluny and the count of "Forense" by Alexander III, which grants a remission of one year of penance for all who serve this peace "just as for those who set out for Jerusalem", "annum unum illius poenitentiae, quam corde contritio et compuncto humiliter recepistis, sicut et iis qui petunt Hierosolimam, relaxamus." PL 200: 249–250. This did not occur in the search because the words poenitentiae and relaxamus are 14 words apart.

### *Satisfactionem Relaxamus*

Apart from in the crusading bulls *Audita tremendi* by Gregory VIII and *Misericors et miserator* by Celestine III, these words do not seem to form an actual formula or to refer to indulgences at all.<sup>190</sup> The words are found in combination in privileges for churches by Leo IX, Alexander III, Lucius III, Celestine III, and Innocent III, but here they refer to the right to relax somebody from excommunication. These privileges are not about relaxations of penances at all; on the contrary, it is stated again and again that people are not to be relaxed before they have performed an appropriate satisfaction.<sup>191</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Of the 26 instances of remissions of penances, 13 were for crusades, and 13 were found in privileges for churches and monasteries. Apparently, the formulas of remissions of penances are much rarer than the formulas of remissions of sins, and this is the case with all the popes in the search; none of them appear to have preferred remissions of penances over remissions of sins.

#### 4.2.3 *Summary of the Significance of the Various Formulas*

The most striking result of the PLD search is that the formulas of remissions of sins come out much more frequently than the remissions of penances. As already stated, the figures in the search must be regarded with caution, especially since the decrees of the individual popes have survived in very uneven numbers and proportion. The ratio of 418 to 26 is, however, quite high, and cannot be explained by an uneven survival of documents alone; it is hard to imagine that decrees containing remissions of penances have had a lesser chance of being handed down than decrees containing remissions of sins.

Thus, the employment of *remissio peccatorum* does not appear to have been rare or reserved for very unique occasions only. On the contrary, it is the remissions of penances that are special.

The PLD search has also confirmed what we found in chapter 4.2.1: that there was no set formula for indulgences in the twelfth century, and that the popes used the formulas in different ways, sometimes feeling free to invent formulas that were all new. By using the PLD, the individual formulas can be thrown into relief. Thus, the formula of Gregory VIII in *Audita tremendi* stands out as a novelty. Even more interesting is the result of the search for *poenitentia reputetur*, the phrase of the *Liber Lamberti*, which has revealed that this was

<sup>190</sup> The search was set up for (satisfactio\* within 10 words of relaxa\*).

<sup>191</sup> PL 143: 621. PL 200: 203, 405. PL 201: 1166, 1262, 1329. PL 206: 1044. PL 214: 222, 610. PL 216: 230, 644, 766, 867.

not a set formula at all. This does not support the credibility of the source, but if these were indeed the words chosen at Clermont, the reason was apparently not that this was a familiar phrase.

The PLD search has also confirmed that *remissio peccatorum* or *venia peccatorum* became the preferred expression for the indulgence in papal documents, as we saw in chapter 4.2.1. During the twelfth century, it became an established tradition that these were the words that signified an indulgence, and this supports the conclusion that the intention behind the grant cannot be determined solely by looking at whether the bull contains this formula or not.

#### 4.2.4 *The Warrant of the Effect*

Most of the *statuta* on crusade indulgences also contain a formula about the authority on which the indulgence is granted, and these parts of the *statuta* may give us a more direct access to the ideas of the popes in relation to how the indulgence worked, as well as to their own authority in this respect. Urban II had already given an example for such formulas in his letter to Bologna, in which he stated that the reward for the crusaders was granted, “by the mercy of the almighty God and the prayers of the Catholic Church, on our authority as well as on that of all the archbishops and bishops of Gaul”.<sup>192</sup> Thus, Urban II based the grant on three elements: the mercy of God, the intercessory prayers of the Church, and the apostolic authority of himself and the French bishops at the council of Clermont. These elements were called upon in different combinations by his successors. Paschal II referred to the grace of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and their apostolic Church in a letter to León-Castile from 1101, and regarding the knights of San Geminiano he declared that they were absolved from all sin by the almighty God and the intercession of the apostles.<sup>193</sup> These formulations clearly indicate that Paschal believed in a transcendental effect of the promises of spiritual reward. His letter to the triumphant crusaders in the Holy Land from May 1100 is also a testimony to his belief in an eternal reward for the crusaders, even though this is not so much a promise as an expression of his heartfelt wish that God himself will absolve the crusaders, who have now served their term, from all sins and reward their exile with an eternal home.<sup>194</sup>

192 “per omnipotentis Dei misericordiam et ecclesiae catholicae preces tam nostra quam omnium paene archiepiscoporum et episcoporum qui in Galliis sunt auctoritate dimittimus.” Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 137.

193 PL 163: 65a, PL 163: 366d. (See Appendix 1 for the text.)

194 “Omnipotens Dominus et velle et posse in vobis omnibus operetur, ut quae eo auctore facienda cognoscitis, ipso adiuvante impleatis. Ipse vos ab omnibus peccatis absolvat et

Gelasius II in 1118 granted an absolution to those who died in the siege of Saragossa, by the merits of the saints and the intercession of the entire Catholic Church. Such references to intercessory prayers and to the merits of the saints are most apparent in the earlier bulls, and the later bulls emphasize the apostolic authority of the pope to grant indulgences. Thus, Calixtus II in 1123 granted the Holy Land indulgence to those who fought in Spain, with apostolic authority and the divine powers which had been granted to him. Eugenius III also referred to the powers he had been granted by God. Both in *Quantum praedecessores* and in *Divini dispensatione*, he used the formula "By the authority of omnipotent God and that of blessed Peter, prince of apostles, conceded to us by God". Alexander III confirmed the indulgences of Urban II and Eugenius III by the authority he had been granted by God, and used variations of the formulations, "Trusting in the mercy of almighty God and the merits of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul" and "Trusting in the love of Jesus Christ and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."<sup>195</sup> Gregory VIII granted his indulgence, "By the mercy of almighty God and the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul and our selves". Innocent III combined some of these formulas for his full-scale bulls into an elaborate formula that also made explicit reference to the power of the keys: "Trusting in the mercy of almighty God and the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by that power of binding and loosing that God has conferred upon us, although unworthy".<sup>196</sup> In some of his shorter decrees, in which he used the formula *in remissionem peccatorum injungimus*, he furthermore referred to himself as the vicar of God,<sup>197</sup> or stated that the remission would be "on the part of God and ourselves".<sup>198</sup>

As we have seen, the theologians of the latter part of the twelfth century tended to base the effect of the indulgences on the *suffragia* and the intercessory powers of the Church. Only in the course of the thirteenth century did they come to base them primarily on the powers of the keys. This means that they referred to the same institutions as the popes, but that the theologians lagged somewhat behind, and they seem quite conservative in comparison to the formulations of the bulls.

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exsilio vestro patriam aeternam retribuat." Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 179.

195 Ed. Hiestand 1972, no. 53 pp. 251–3; PL 200: 1296.

196 "De Dei ergo misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa, quam nobis Deus licet indignis ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate ..." Reg. 1 no. 336 p. 503 (PL 214: 312); cf. Reg. 2 nos 258, 259; Reg. 11 no. 180 (PL 214: 331, 834; PL 215: 1502); PL 216: 818; ed. Alberigo p. 246.

197 Reg. 11 no. 25 p. 33; no. 153 p. 243 (PL 215: 1356; 1470).

198 "ex parte Dei et nostra", PL 216: 513, 514.

Gelasius II apparently was the last pope to refer to intercession as the warrant of the crusade indulgence. Instead, the bulls emphasize the powers of Peter and Paul, some by reference to their merits (Honorius II and Alexander III at two instances), but mostly by reference to their apostolic authority that had been handed on to the present pope. St. Peter, of course, was not only the apostle to whom the keys had first been given (Matt. 16:19), but tradition held that he was the first bishop of Rome. Tradition also saw Peter and Paul as the co-founders of the Roman Church, and the reference to their names was used to emphasize the prestige of Rome over the other churches and of the pope over the other bishops. When the popes referred to Peter and Paul in the crusade indulgences, they were underlining their own authority, and it is no coincidence that they hardly ever mentioned the merits of other saints. The only exceptions are Gelasius II, who referred to the merits of saints in general, and Honorius II, who (according to the chronicle of Falco Beneventanus) included the merits of the Holy Virgin, Mary.

In addition, the *Historia Compostellana* relates that a council held in Santiago de Compostela in 1125 granted plenary indulgences to those who fought against the Moor by reference to "the authority of the almighty God and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and also of James, and all the saints."<sup>199</sup> The name of St. James was probably included because it was very powerful in Spain and especially in Santiago de Compostela, the place of his shrine. The authority of Peter and Paul was also mentioned, however, and the council was indeed celebrated at the request of Pope Honorius II, and presided over by his legate, Archbishop Diego Gelmirez of Compostela.

Still, this example points to the question of whether crusade indulgences needed papal authority and confirmation in the early part of the twelfth century, or if they had not yet become a papal prerogative – in the same way that the powers of the bishops to grant indulgences were not limited before the Fourth Lateran Council, and not derived from those of the pope until the teaching of the treasury of merits. In my research, I have only come across three other examples of 'non-papal' promises of spiritual rewards for crusades, and each of them poses their own problems of interpretation. The first example is the famous Magdeburg charter of 1108, which is an appeal to make war against the pagan Slavs northeast of the Elbe. While the charter purports to have been sent by the archbishop of Magdeburg together with his suffragan bishops, as well as east Saxon secular leaders, the true authorship of the letter is debated; some scholars see it as a private work, but most agree that it was

199 "omnipotentis Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli atque Jacobi, omniumque sanctorum auctoritate absolvimus." *Historia Compostellana* in PL 170: 1135.

indeed written in 1108 and reflects sentiments of the age.<sup>200</sup> There are no signs that the pope was involved in this appeal, nor that the initiators sought papal confirmation of the planned campaign, which never came about, as far as is known. The charter, however, clearly describes the campaign in the language of a crusade, and has similarities with the chronicles of the First Crusade, especially that of Robert the Monk. The Slavs are “most cruel heathens” who raid against the Christians and profane the churches; the Christian warriors are called “soldiers of Christ”, and they are urged to emulate the example of the Franks who had liberated Jerusalem, and to fight for “our Jerusalem”. Yet the charter does not contain a formalised statement of indulgences or remissions, but it promises the warriors that in this war, they can both save their souls and acquire the best land to live on.<sup>201</sup> It has been suggested that the indulgence was not offered because this was a papal prerogative.<sup>202</sup> It is, however, highly questionable if the granting of indulgences for any purpose could indeed have been regarded as a papal prerogative at this time, and that the indulgence and other institutions of the crusade had already been so clearly defined that it was evident that papal sanction was needed in the making of a crusade. Another, more likely, thesis is that the persons who wrote the Magdeburg charter wanted to make a campaign against the Slavs following the model and ideology of the First Crusade, and that they found that in such a holy war, the soldiers of Christ would earn their salvation, but it may not have been clear to them that the indulgence would be the “correct” form of spiritual promise for a crusade. Furthermore, it is very likely that they did not even know what an indulgence was, since it had hardly been used in Northern Europe yet.

The other examples of “non-papal” promises of spiritual rewards are from a town council in Coimbra in 1145 and a synod in Segovia in 1166. The example from Coimbra is remarkable because it is from a secular council on changes in the town privileges, decided by the local magnates and confirmed by King Afonso Henriques. The part on the spiritual reward for crusading is very short and states only that those who intend to go to the Holy Land should employ

200 Giles Constable, “The Place of the Magdeburg Charter of 1107/08 in the History of Eastern Germany and of the Crusades” in *Vita religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. F.J. Felten und N. Jaspert (1999), pp. 283–99; Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe* (1993), pp. 262–3; Kurt Villads Jensen, *Korstog ved verdens yderste rand. Danmark og Portugal ca. 1000 til ca. 1250* (2011), pp. 147–50; Bysted, Jensen, Jensen and Lind pp. 29–30.

201 *Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, ed. F. Israël and W. Möllenberg (1937), vol. 1 pp. 249–52. Translation in Constable 1999, p. 299.

202 Cf. Constable 1999, p. 289. J. Riley-Smith has also asserted that the crusade indulgence was a papal prerogative, cf. 1992 p. 28, though he suggested the opposite in 1987 p. 105.

their forces in the Extremadura instead. Those who died there would have the same remission as those who went to Jerusalem.<sup>203</sup> At the synod of Segovia, the Spanish bishops offered the same remission of enjoined penances as to those who “visited” Jerusalem (probably on a pilgrimage) to those who would defend Castile against invaders (who apparently were Christian).<sup>204</sup>

Even though the known examples of non-papal crusade indulgences are quite few, there may well have been more, since they have assumably been less likely to survive than papal decrees, and less likely to have been edited and published by modern scholars. These examples, as well as the Danish campaign against the heathen Wendish stronghold at Rügen in 1168 or 1169, which apparently did not receive a papal bull, are all indications that papal authorisation was not generally held to be necessary in the earlier parts of crusading history.<sup>205</sup>

As has been noted, it appears, on the other hand, that the popes themselves increasingly emphasised their special, Petrine powers as the warrant of the effect of their privileges of indulgences. While Urban II referred to the authority of the French bishops together with his own, without reserving this power for himself, later popes referred to the authority of Peter and Paul. By contrast, the bishops usually did not refer to the apostles, but to the *omnipotentis Dei* and the saints, because they wanted to show that their power derived from God directly and not through the pope.<sup>206</sup> The papal tendency to stress the powers of the keys is even more apparent in the bulls of Innocent III, which were the first to mention the power to bind and to loose explicitly. Thus, it seems from the formulas of authority that the popes grew more and more confident in their own powers to grant indulgences during our period, and that this development predated the shift in theology towards founding the indulgences on the powers of the keys and pope.

203 “ut omnes qui voluerint ire Jherosolymam non habeant licenciam eundi sed in auxilio illius castelli de Leirena et tocius Extremature. Et quicumque ibi fuerit mortuus talem remissionem sicuti illi qui migraverit in Jherosolimis.” *Livro Preto da Sé de Coimbra* III (1979), p. 263.

204 “et quicumque tunc uocatus ad seruicium eius uenerit tantum de iniuncta sibi penitentia remittimus quantum si Jherosolimam uisitare.” Printed in Peter Linehan, “The Synod of Segovia (1166)” in *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 10 (1980), p. 42. Cf. Riley-Smith 1987, p. 105, who also appears to know of more examples from Spain.

205 On the campaign against Rügen see Bysted, Jensen, Jensen and Lind pp. 66–81.

206 Cf. Lea III p. 36. The episcopal indulgences of the twelfth century quoted in Paulus I pp. 177–92 seem to confirm this observation. See, however, chapter 3, note 104 above.

#### 4.2.5 *Conclusions*

This chapter has demonstrated that *remissio peccatorum* became the standard phrase for the indulgence in papal documents during the course of the twelfth century, but that it cannot have had this status in 1095 or in the early part of the twelfth century. The formula used for crusading privileges was changed almost from one bull to the next, as shifting popes tried to find a fitting formulation. Alexander III in particular appears to have been eager to find a formula that mirrored the theology of the indulgence: that it was in fact a remission of the penalty for sins, though the usual formulas used the ambiguous expression 'remission of sins'. As it turned out, however, tradition was more important than precision, and *remissio peccatorum* was the formula adopted by Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, which secured its perseverance. To insist that this formula was the hallmark of the "real" indulgence from the beginning of the crusading movement seems an anachronism, however.

According to today's definition indulgences are remissions of temporal punishments, not of sins. As we have seen, the concept of temporal punishments had not been developed by the time of the first crusade indulgences, and does not appear until c. 1120, therefore we should not expect to find it in the early formulas. As for the question of the "real" indulgence, we must also consider the fact that in the early crusading period, the indulgence was not yet a firmly established institution, and therefore it is inadequate to say that a "real" indulgence was better than an absolution or other spiritual privilege. Some of the popes, i.e. Alexander III and Innocent III, indeed graded the indulgences by using a long and a short formula, or by issuing partial indulgences for some expeditions, but not by granting either transcendental or non-transcendental indulgences.

The survey of the papal proclamations of crusade indulgences has also demonstrated that the indulgence remained essentially a commutation of penance; similarly, the survey of the writings of the theologians also found that they continued to explain the indulgences on the lines of commutations. That they were commutations did in no way mean that the papal crusade indulgences did not make claims to have an effect before God, however. The authorisation formulas especially show that the popes granted indulgences by explicit reference to the powers they had been granted by God.



## Earning Merit

The previous chapter has focused on the institutional and terminological development of the crusade indulgences, as seen in the *statuta* of the papal bulls. In this chapter, we will turn to the arguments in the other parts of the bulls, the *arenga*, *narratio* and *exhortatio*, and look at the ideas behind these declarations of indulgences and the theology that justified them. The arguments for granting indulgences for this purpose reveal how the crusader was believed to earn merit by going on crusade, and what – according to the papal bulls – was actually the meritorious thing about crusading.

The most important theological themes with regard to earning merit in the papal bulls were the crusade as defence, as service and imitation of Christ, as an opportunity for penance, and as a test. These themes were handed on from one bull to another, and some of them were used more or less constantly over the whole period. They were, however, adapted and given new emphasis in the course of events, and the theology of the bulls reflect the changing conditions for crusading as well as the learned discussions of the theologians and canonists.

### 5.1 Defence of Christ and Christendom

The crusade as defence of Christ, the Church, and the Christian brothers is without question the most constant theme in the papal discourse on crusading. It appears in almost all the letters we have examined from Urban II to Innocent III and this makes it the main reason given why participation in the crusade is meritorious.

Urban II clearly indicated in his letters that the purpose of the Crusade to the East was to liberate the eastern churches and the Christians living there from the Muslims. If we are to believe the chronicles, the pope made a very vivid description at Clermont of the alleged savage brutality of the Muslims and of why the Christians urgently needed defence and liberation. This rhetoric is not as prominent in his own letters; only in the letter for the Flemish did he speak of the “barbarian” invasion of the eastern regions and of the city of Christ, which had brought its churches into “intolerable slavery.”<sup>1</sup> Urban also

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1 Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 136.

described the object that was to be liberated generally as the Church,<sup>2</sup> i.e. as the whole community of the faithful, and as Christianity (*christianitatis*).<sup>3</sup> Thus, he underlined the common interests of his audience and the eastern Christians by describing the Muslim rule in Palestine as a threat to all Christianity. This same idea of the unity of Christians is also seen in his letters about the reconquista in Spain. Here, too, the object is the defence of the Christian people in general.<sup>4</sup> The Christians in the East, as well as in Spain, are your brothers, Urban explained in a letter to the knights of Catalonia, and the spiritual reward is granted for giving one's life for the love of God and one's brothers when fighting for their liberation.<sup>5</sup>

The same idea was expressed by Calixtus II in 1123, in an exhortation to "defend the brothers and liberate the churches" of Spain: the sons of God were dying from the pagan oppression and therefore all the faithful who would fight steadfast in this war would get the same remission of sins as for the defence of the Eastern Church.<sup>6</sup>

In *Quantum praedecessores* of 1145/1146, Eugenius III also urged the king and knights of France to defend the Eastern Church and to liberate their brothers after the fall of Edessa. Moreover, Pope Eugenius admonished them to remember the great accomplishments of their forefathers, who conquered the holy places in the First Crusade, and he urged them to honour their ancestors by defending the lands that had been acquired through the spilling of their blood. This point was of course meant to incite the fighting spirit of the king and knights by urging them to live up to the example of their forefathers, but it also reveals a further argument as to why the crusader states were rightful Christian ground: not only were there Christian churches there, but the lands had been acquired through great Christian losses. Furthermore, with the fall of Edessa, not only the Christian rule in the East but all of Christianity was threatened, Eugenius declared, and he described participation in the defence as a "holy and very necessary work and labour" for which the remission of sins was granted.<sup>7</sup> Eugenius III used the same argument about the crusade in Spain in 1152.

2 To Bologna 1096, ed. Hagenmeyer p. 137.

3 To Valombrosa 1096, ed. Hiestand 1985, pp. 88–9.

4 To Tarragona 1089, PL 151: 303; to Catalonia 1096/1099, ed. Kehr p. 287.

5 Ed. Kehr pp. 287–8: "In qua videlicet expeditione si quis pro Dei et fratrum suorum dilectione occubuerit, peccatorum profecto suorum indulgentiam et eterne vite consortium inventurum ..." On the theme of brotherly love in crusading propaganda, see J. Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love" in *History* 65 (1980), pp. 177–92.

6 Calixtus II: *Bullaire* pp. 266–7, PL 163: 1303.

7 PL 180: 1064–6. For an analysis of *Quantum praedecessores* and of the relations between the Roman and the Armenian Churches at the time, see now J. Phillips 2007, esp. pp. 47–53.

The fight here was in defence of the Christian religion and the whole Holy Church, and such a labour was worthy of the indulgence instituted by Urban for the liberation of the Eastern Church. Anastasius IV repeated this argument in 1153/1154.<sup>8</sup>

The theme of the crusade as a defence lived on in the latter part of the twelfth century but it was accentuated differently. When Alexander III reissued *Quantum praedecessores* in 1165, he omitted the paragraph about all Christianity being threatened and instead talked about the danger that Jerusalem itself would fall into enemy hands and that the Sepulchre of Christ and the other holy places would be soiled and desecrated.<sup>9</sup> In his later bulls, especially in *Cor nostrum* of 1181, he elaborated on the theme that the point was to defend Jerusalem, the place that Christ had sanctified by his corporeal presence on earth, and the very place where Christ had suffered for man and secured his salvation. "He is not a Christian who is not moved by the disasters of the aforementioned land, and who does not gird himself to defend it against the advances of the infidel," *Cor nostrum* continues.<sup>10</sup> However, this bull does not say that the purpose was to defend the Eastern Church. These lands belonged rightfully to the Christians, not primarily because of the churches there, but because this was the land where Christ had lived and died for man. This was the place of the redemption and salvation of man, and therefore all faithful who were able to fight should defend this place in order that the blood of Christ "which he poured out for us should not seem to have been forgotten." Accordingly, in the statutes of this bull it is said that the indulgence is granted to those who take up this labour *for Christ*, "*pro Christi hujus viae laborem assumpserit ...*"<sup>11</sup>

This theme was further accentuated as the Muslim forces drew in on the crusader states, and after Jerusalem itself was lost in October 1187. In the same month, apparently before the full consequences were known in the West but after the news of the Christian defeat at Hattin and that the relic of the true Cross had been captured by Saladin, Gregory VIII lamented in *Audita tremendi*, using the words of Psalm 78 (79):1 "Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance."<sup>12</sup> This text seemed to fit the situation very well after the loss of Jerusalem, and it was used repeatedly by Gregory's successors, Clement

8 Cf. Kehr pp. 346–7.

9 PL 200: 384–5.

10 "Non est utique Christianus, qui praescriptae terrae calamitatibus non movetur, nec accingitur ad ipsam ab infidelium incursibus defendendam ..." PL 200: 1295.

11 PL 200: 1295.

12 PL 202: 1539–40. On what was known of the fall of Jerusalem, see below chapter 5, note 77.

III, Celestine III, and Innocent III, either *in extenso* or in the expression “the inheritance of God” or the “inheritance of Christ” about the Holy Land.<sup>13</sup> The task was now described as the liberation of the land where the Lord let himself be crucified for man and which was his rightful inheritance, and which was now suffering under the torments of the Muslims. The bulls of Celestine III and Innocent III strongly admonished the crusaders to “defend the land of the Lord’s nativity (*terrae nativitatis Domini*)” and to avenge and restore the injuries against the rights of Christ and his people, to “take the sign of the cross to vindicate the injuries against Jesus Christ (*ad vindicandam injuriam*)”.<sup>14</sup> The same language was used also outside the Holy Land by Innocent III in his admonitions to crusades against Markward of Anweiler and the Albigensians, and in this context, the injuries against Christ were constituted by the lapse from the true faith and disobedience towards the Roman church and pope.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, the theme of the defence of Christ came to totally replace the theme of defence and liberation of the Eastern Church also in the bulls for the eastern crusades. This shift took place within the pontificate of Alexander III. The *exhortatio* of both his first two bulls for the Holy Land from 1165 and 1166 admonish the crusaders to defend the oriental church and to liberate it from tyranny, but this has disappeared in his bulls from 1169 and 1181, and it is not found in any of the later bulls in our survey. Instead, the later bulls exhort the crusaders to work for Christ and to liberate his land, and this is what the spiritual reward is granted for. While the later bulls of Alexander III still mentioned the fate of the Eastern Church in the *arengae*, this also disappears in the bulls of the later popes. Instead, they lament the state of Jerusalem and the Holy Land as the Christian heartland, the place where Christ was born and worked out the salvation for man. The fact that the Eastern Church disappears so totally from focus may seem somewhat peculiar, since expeditions were still headed for the East and were meant to serve the Church. However, it means that the theme of defence was henceforth centred on the person of Christ. The indulgences, which used to be granted for aid for the Church, were now said to be granted for the labour and service the crusaders rendered to Christ himself, and this gave the crusade spirituality a more personal intensity.

13 Clement III in Giraldus Cambrensis p. 237. Celestine III: PL 206: 971, 1107. Innocent III: Reg. 1 nos 13, 302, 336, 353, 397; Reg. 2 no. 258 (PL 214: 11, 263, 311, 326, 375, 828). According to J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (1986), p. 21, “No passage of scripture was to be more often quoted in connection with crusading.”

14 Reg. 1 nos 13, 407 (PL 214: 11, 384). Cf. Celestine III PL 206: 971–3, 1108; Innocent III Reg. 1 nos 302, 336, 353, 408; Reg. 6 no. 101 (PL 214: 264, 308, 326, 384; PL 215: 106–7); PL 216: 822, 831.

15 Reg. 2 no. 212; Reg. 10 no. 149; Reg. 11 no. 25 (PL 214: 781; 215: 1247, 1358).

This prevalence of the language of the defence of Christ is related both to the use of feudal ideology in the papal bulls and to the growing popularity of a spirituality of imitation of Christ's passion, and we will return to these ideas below. However, whether the object was the Church or Christ, the theme of defence is important in the crusading bulls over the whole period, and should also be seen in the context of the twelfth-century discussion on just war. When the papal bulls spoke of the Holy Land as the fatherland of Christ and of an obligation to avenge the injuries against his rights, they used concepts and ideas that were refined by the canonists and theologians.

### 5.1.1 *Theories of Just War*

The canonists and theologians who debated on the just war defined this precisely as the avenging of injuries, and regarded the defence of rights and liberation of Christian land as constituting just causes for war. This debate was based on concepts that originated in Augustine, who had defined just war: "*Iusta bella ulciscuntur iniurias*," just wars avenge injuries.<sup>16</sup> Augustine, in his attempts to reconcile the pacifistic tendencies of the early Church and the New Testament with the much more positive attitude towards war of the Old Testament and of Roman law, stated that war could be justified if it were waged in order to restrain sinners from doing evil. Although the evildoers did not recognize it themselves, this would even be in their own best interests, and therefore punishment of evildoers that prevented them from doing further wrong was also an act of love, provided that it was conducted without being motivated by hatred and revenge. Moreover, if the soldier were motivated by charity, his military service would not inflict sin upon him.<sup>17</sup> The opinions of Augustine on just war became useful for the supporters of Gregory VII as a defence of his concept of Christian warfare. They were collected by Bishop Anselm of Lucca in c. 1083, who argued for the right of the Church to use force to punish its enemies, and pointed out that vengeance could be righteous and wars be waged out of love. On the eve of the First Crusade, the same quotations were used by Ivo of Chartres to demonstrate that while love of one's neighbour under normal circumstances demanded that one should not kill, love could involve physical coercion, in the same way as a father sometimes punished a son.<sup>18</sup>

16 Frederick H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (1975), p. 18.

17 Cf. Russell pp. 16–26.

18 I.S. Robinson, "Gregory VII and the soldiers of Christ" in *History* 58 no. 193 (1973), pp. 169–92, here pp. 186–90; J. Riley-Smith 1980, pp. 188–9; Hehl 2004, pp. 204–6. Cf. also Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (1935), pp. 212–49, who argued that theorists who supported the Gregorian programme provided the theoretical conditions

The basis for the discussion in the latter part of the twelfth century and long into the thirteenth was the *Decretum* of Gratian from c. 1140 and his compilation of opinions of the Church fathers and popes on the subject. Gratian defined the just war as a war “waged by an authoritative edict to avenge injuries (*iniuriae ulciscuntur*).”<sup>19</sup> He followed Augustine closely, but combined his opinions with material from other sources, for instance Isidor of Seville, who asserted that a just war must be waged by an edict and aim to recover lost goods or to repel an enemy attack.<sup>20</sup> Gratian’s *Decretum* was accepted almost immediately as authoritative by the schools of canon law, and it was used also by the theologians on the topic of war, especially because the basic textbook of the theologians, the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard, did not enter into a discussion of the problems of warfare. The only text in the *Sententiae* that deals with military service is the passage from Gregory VII in 1078 on false penances, which we met above in chapter 3.1.3.<sup>21</sup> The Augustinian definition of the just war as avenging injuries thus passed from the *Decretum* to the later commentaries. These also formulated more detailed criteria for rendering a war just. A war could be waged if the persons, thing, cause, intention, and authority were right. Thus, no private persons could wage war justly, only those of proper authority could proclaim a war, and they had to have a legal right to the things being fought over. The just causes included defence of *patria*, faith, and peace.<sup>22</sup>

Related to the discussion of just war was the question of wars against heretics and schismatics, and these, too, could be justified by reverting to Augustine. Whereas force could not be used in the conversion of heathens according to Augustine, since true conversion can only be voluntary, it could be justified to use coercive force against heretics and schismatics in order get them back

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for the crusade as wars proclaimed by the Church, and changed the traditionally suspicious attitude towards war. For a criticism of this view, see John Gilchrist, “The Erdman Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083–1141” in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (1985), pp. 37–45; idem., “The Papacy and War against the ‘Saracens,’ 795–1216” in *International History Review* 10, 2 (1988), pp. 174–97.

19 Gratian, *Decretum* in *Corpus juris canonici*, ed. Friedberg, C. 23 q. 2 c. 2.

20 *Decretum* C. 23 q. 2 c. 1. See Russell pp. 55–85; Hehl 1980, pp. 57–108.

21 *Libri Sententiarum* IV, 4, 16, 2 (PL 192: 878–9). The passage asserts that a soldier, like a merchant or official, cannot exercise his duties without sin, and could therefore not do true penance without leaving his occupation. Peter Lombard omitted the last part, that a soldier could return to military service with episcopal permission, and consequently his version “appeared to cast suspicion on the morality of military service itself.” Cf. Russell p. 216 n. 7.

22 See Kurt Villads Jensen, “Bellum Iustum i 1200-tallets vesteuropæiske tænkning og Kirkens fred” in *Historisk Tidsskrift* 93:1 (1993), pp. 22–46, esp. pp. 33–9; Russell pp. 218–24.

into the fold by “compelling them to enter.” Heretics and schismatics were lapsed from true faith by their own will, and they were threatening the unity of the Church and opposing its authority. Therefore, they were dangerous and should be fought by all possible means, corrected and called back to discipline, and restrained from doing further evil.<sup>23</sup>

Manegold of Lautenbach (c. 1045–1103/1119), one of the supporters of Gregory VII, quoted Augustine in order to prove the rights of the pope to wage wars.<sup>24</sup> Thus, he found it justified to use force against the excommunicated, and he further asserted that it was not murder to kill in order to protect the Church, “Those who kill excommunicates, not for a personal injury, but for the defence of the Church, are not to be punished or to do penance for homicide.”<sup>25</sup>

This discussion is echoed in a couple of letters from Urban II and Paschal II. Urban II wrote to the bishop Godefrid of Lucca that killing of excommunicates was not to be reckoned as murder if it was done out of zeal for the Catholic Church. He did not agree with Manegold that it did not demand penance, however, and stated that the killer had to receive penance, because due to human fragility the intention behind the killing could have been influenced by a mean motive.<sup>26</sup> Paschal II wrote similarly to the knights of San Gimignano that the killing of blasphemers was not murder if it were done for the defence of justice, and added the principle taken from Roman law that all law permits that force is repelled by force (*vim vi repellere*).<sup>27</sup>

The principle of the crusade as a war to avenge injuries is already found in the sources for the First Crusade. The leaders of the crusade wrote to Urban II from Antioch in September 1098 that “the Turks, who inflicted much dishonour on our Lord Jesus Christ, have been taken and killed and we Jerusalemites have avenged the injury to the supreme God Jesus Christ.”<sup>28</sup> It was also used by Baldric in his chronicle of the First Crusade.<sup>29</sup>

23 See H.D. Kahl, “Zum Geist der deutschen Slawenmission des Hochmittelalters” in H. Beumann ed., *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters* (1963), pp. 156–76.

24 Manegoldi, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, c. xxxv–xxxix, in MGH Libelli de lite 1 (1891), pp. 372–80,

25 “Quod hi qui excommunicatos non pro privata injuria, sed ecclesiam defendendo interficiunt, non ut homicide peniteant vel puniantur.” Manegold c. xxxviii, p. 376.

26 PL 151: 394. Appears in Gratian C. 23 q. 5 c. 47.

27 PL 163: 366.

28 “... Turci qui multa Domino nostro Jesu Christo intulerant opprobria, capti et interfecti sunt, et nos Hierosolymitani Iesu Christi iniuriam summi Dei vindicauimus ...” Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 161.

29 Baldric in RHC Oc. IV p. 101. Cf. also Riley-Smith 1987, p. 16.

However, it was only after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 that the theme of avenging injuries was adopted in the papal crusading bulls. The first example is in *Cum divina patientia* of Gregory VIII, which exhorted the faithful not to “suffer this injury to Christ to stay any longer unavenged.”<sup>30</sup> It was then taken up by Celestine III in 1195, and used repeatedly by Innocent III.<sup>31</sup>

The twelfth-century papal crusading bulls thus reflect the learned discussions on just war, even if the discussions themselves hardly surface in the bulls. These bulls do not go into a discussion on the morality of warfare, nor do they argue for the justification of the use of violence on behalf of the Church.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, they use the terms that were developed in the theoretical discussion, and they describe the crusades as wars of defence on divine authority, clearly in order to define them as just wars.

This was an important point to make since it could only be meritorious to take part in the crusades if they were just. If they were not just, the crusaders would be committing murder and earn eternal damnation instead of indulgence for their sins. An underlying premise for the whole discussion on the justification of war and military service was, of course, that killing was a mortal sin, and the problem of how it could still be permitted and even, in the case of the crusades, be deemed meritorious. This problem is not addressed directly in the bulls, but some of the theologians of the age actually discussed whether the crusades were in conflict with the fifth commandment, “Thou shalt not kill”.

### 5.1.2 *The Fifth Commandment*

One of the theologians who discussed the contrast between the wars proclaimed by the Church and the fifth commandment was Peter of Poitiers. In his commentary to the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard from around 1168/1176, he explained the Ten Commandments and asked the question if it could be licit to do something contrary to any of them, among these whether killing could be permitted.<sup>33</sup> He stated three *pro* arguments: First, the example of Mattathiah and his sons in the Book of Maccabees who, inspired by the Holy Spirit, decided

30 “...nec patiantur iniuriam Christi fore diutius inultam.” Ed. Gertz p. 464. On the authenticity of this bull see below chapter 5.2.

31 Celestine III: PL 206: 1108. Innocent III: see above, notes 752 and 753.

32 As was also observed by John Gilchrist, “The Lord’s War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198–1216)” in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Schatzmiller (1993), pp. 65–83, here p. 66.

33 Petri Pictaviensis, *Sententiarum libri quinque*, IV c. 4, in PL 211: 1149–51. Peter Lombard himself only devoted ten lines to the fifth commandment, and did not go into this discussion, cf. *Sententiarum libri quatuor*, III dist. XXXVII. 3, in PL 192: 832.



to fight and defend themselves from the heathen even on the Sabbath (1 Macc. 2). Mattathiah and the Maccabees were used in a number of crusading bulls as examples to emulate for the crusaders, because they did not hesitate to expose themselves to death and leave their possessions in order to protect their ancestral laws.<sup>34</sup> Peter of Poitiers, however, only pointed to the Maccabees as an argument that it is permitted to kill in self-defence. The same is the meaning of his second argument, the principle of *vim vi repellere*. As the third he added: "Moreover, soldiers overseas [i.e. the crusaders] may not kill the heathen, unless the Church allows it and gives its consent."<sup>35</sup> This means that the Church could authorise the killing involved in the crusades, but also that it should only happen on this proper authority. On the other side, Peter posed three *contra* arguments, which say that it is not permitted for Christians to defend themselves. They are all 'pacifistic' principles gathered from the New Testament, first of all the precept of turning the other cheek (Matt. 5:39). The solution of Peter of Poitiers is that it is indeed licit to kill if it is done out of the zeal for justice and in defence of the cause of truth. He quotes St. Jerome for the statement that to punish murderers, sacrilegists, and usurers is not to shed blood, but to administer the law.<sup>36</sup> Peter most probably took this quotation from the *Decretum* of Gratian, where it is entered under the heading: "He does not shed blood who punishes murderers and sacrilegists."<sup>37</sup> Thus, it was so to speak not actually against the fifth commandment, but the condition was that it happened on the proper authority and for the defence of justice and religion.

An argument along much the same lines was given by Peter of Blois (c. 1135 – 1211), archdeacon of London and secretary to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, in 1188 in a letter encouraging the archbishop to preach the Third Crusade.<sup>38</sup> Peter of Blois argued that it was the duty of the archbishop to guard "the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth" and his job to compel the heretics to enter. Archbishop Baldwin is represented as having second thoughts about the recruitment to the war against non-Christians, however: "But you say: He who kills the infidel is a murderer."<sup>39</sup> Whether Baldwin had actually ever uttered

34 E.g. Eugenius III, PL 180: 1065; Alexander III, PL 200: 385; Gregory VIII, PL 202: 1542; Innocent III, Reg. 2 no. 259 (PL 214: 834).

35 "Praeterea transmarini milites nisi permetteret et consentiret Ecclesia, non interficerent paganos." PL 211: 1150.

36 "Homicidas, sacrilegos, usurarios punire non est effusio sanguinis, sed ministerium legis." PL 221: 1151.

37 Gratian, *Decretum* C. 23 q. 5 c. 31. The *Decretum*, however, does not say *usurarios*, but *venenarios*, poisoners.

38 Ep. 232, PL 207: 529–534: "Exhortatio ad eos qui nec accipiunt nec praedicant crucem."

39 "Sed dicis: Qui infideles occidit, homicida est." PL 207: 532.

such a concern is uncertain – at least he appears to have embarked on his extensive preaching campaign in Wales, independently of Peter's exhortation.<sup>40</sup> However, Peter argued that the slaying of the infidel would not incur the crime of murder, because this was justified by the law given by the common consensus of the Church, the mandate of the pope, devotion to the Lord, and the love of Christ. Consequently, to fight the blasphemers of Christ and polluters of the sanctuaries of God was not murder, and would be counted as merit if it was done for devotion and love, Peter stated, and referred also to the word of God (in a paraphrase of Exodus 22:18) "You will kill the blasphemers and will not allow evildoers to live." This made Peter believe that, "it is most acceptable to God if these filthy dogs are driven out of the Holy Land. The task rests with men, but the true authority and power rests with God."<sup>41</sup>

The question of the relation of the crusades to the fifth commandment also appears a generation later in the commentary on the *Sententiae* by Alexander of Hales (c. 1185–1245). This reveals that "someone" even asked the unpleasant question of whether the Church preached murder of the infidel in connection with the crusades and thus permitted murder in spite of the prohibitions in the Bible.<sup>42</sup> The question is inserted into Alexander's commentary to the passage on the fifth commandment, where he discusses different authoritative statements on the legitimacy of killing heretics. Whereas Exodus 22:18, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch (evildoer) to live" is a direct command to kill heretics, it seems that the Lord has made a contrary command in the sermon on the mount, Matt. 5:21, "Thou shalt not kill." Not surprisingly, the solution is found in Augustine, who had explained how the apparent contradiction between the Old and the New Testament was solved, and that the law that commanded killing was given for the "carnal peoples". Moreover, the command to kill the evildoer did not pertain to his human nature, but to his wickedness, and as long as evil existed in human society there could be no justice. Provided that the killing was done out of respect for justice, and not for vengeance or lust to kill, it was not a sin for the minister of civil law to kill the evildoer.

The edition L of this *questio* further asks whether the Church goes against the fifth commandment when it preaches murder of the infidel. Unfortunately,

40 Cole 1991, p. 74. See also Siberry pp. 210–1.

41 "Credo acceptissimum Deo esse si de terra sancta canes immundissimi extrahentur: hujus rei ministerium penes homines est, penes Dominum vero auctoritas et potestas." PL 207: 533.

42 Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quattuor libros sententiarum Petri Lombardi* (1954), III pp. 464–6, 486–8. I am grateful to Lektor, lic. theol. Ninna Jørgensen, Department of Church History, University of Copenhagen for directing my attention to this passage and for sharing her thoughts.

it does not reveal who made this objection and if it was held sincerely by anyone, but it may have been posed by an earlier master. Alexander, however, answers that “those” who have made this objection are not right, because the killing of the infidel does not happen on the authority of the Church; it is the acquisition of the Holy Land that happens on the authority of the Church, and in this connection killings are “occasionally” committed by the civil authority.<sup>43</sup>

Thus Peter of Poitiers, Peter of Blois, and Alexander of Hales all found a way to justify the violence of the crusades and to define them as proper exertion of power, because they were waged in defence and on the right authority. This also meant that killing the infidel was not a sin, which further implied that the crusaders were not running the risk of eternal damnation, but could win merit. The points about just violence were important since fighting in an unjust war could hardly be meritorious. It is interesting that the theologians discussed these problems, even if we do not know how many may have doubted that fighting the crusades was just and meritorious. According to Elizabeth Siberry’s study of the criticism of crusading, the examples of pacifistic arguments against crusades are few and have only survived because they were recorded by preachers and apologists.<sup>44</sup> At any rate, the papal bulls pre-empt such criticism by defining the object of the crusades as defence of the Christian people and the rights of Christ, and by pointing out that the crusades were waged on divine authority, and that the crusaders had to be motivated by piety and love of Christ.

## 5.2 Service of Christ and Imitation of Christ

The theme of *imitatio Christi*, the imitation of Christ and following in his footsteps, was one of the most influential and characteristic motives of medieval spirituality.<sup>45</sup> It was also very fundamental to the theology of the crusades as in the notion of *taking the cross to follow Christ*, in Matt. 10:38 (Luke 14:27) “And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me” as well as in Matt. 16:24–25 (Mark 8:34–35, Luke 9:23–24): “If any man will come after me,

43 “Ad illud quod obicitur, propter quid praedicatur ab Ecclesia; respondeo: non fit interfectio auctoritate Ecclesiae, sed auctoritate Ecclesiae fit adquisitio Terrae Sanctae, ex quo occasionaliter auctoritate civili fit interfectio.” Alexander of Hales p. 487.

44 Siberry pp. 208–12.

45 See Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (1995), part II: “The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ” pp. 143–248; *Dictionnaire du spiritualité* 7:2, col. 1571–7.

let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."

As mentioned earlier, these were most probably among the very texts which Pope Urban II himself was preaching on when he proclaimed the First Crusade at Clermont in 1095. Both Baldric of Dol and Robert of Rheims, who had witnessed Urban's sermon, referred to these texts in their reports of it, and they also appear in other chronicles of the First Crusade.<sup>46</sup> This means that to the chroniclers, the idea of following Christ was an essential element in the theology of the crusades, and that these texts from Matthew 10:38 and 16:24 represented authentic crusade-spirituality from a very early point of the movement. It is reflected already in a letter from the leaders of the crusade to Urban II from September 1098, written at Antioch after the death of the papal legate, Adhemar of Le Puy. To replace the legate they asked the pope himself to join them as their spiritual leader, and they reminded him of his words to them, that they should leave all their possessions behind to carry their cross and follow Christ.<sup>47</sup> The letter from Paschal II from April 1100 to the triumphant crusaders who had conquered Jerusalem also recalls this theme of renouncing everything for Christ. The crusaders have suffered much and abandoned their land, houses, and parents for the love of God and brothers, Pope Paschal says, referring to Matt. 19:29, "And everyone that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life", a text which is also central in Robert's account of the sermon at Clermont.<sup>48</sup> These themes as well as the texts were taken up also in chronicles of the later crusades and in twelfth-century crusade poetry.<sup>49</sup>

46 Baldric of Dol/Bourgueil (c. 1108): RHC Oc. IV p. 16, and Robert of Rheims (before 1107): RHC Oc. III pp. 728, 730; *Gesta Francorum* RHC Oc. III p. 121; Peter Tudebodius: *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* I in PL 155: 763.

47 "nunc igitur filii tui commisso patre orbat, tibi spirituali patri nostro mandamus, ut qui hanc uiam incepisti et sermonibus tuis nos omnes et terras nostras et quicquid in terris erat relinquere fecisti, et cruce baiulando Christum sequi praecepisti et Christianum nomen exaltare ..." Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 164. The text bears a strong resemblance to *Gesta Francorum*, the earliest of the chronicles, cf. Hagenmeyer pp. 96–7.

48 "quapropter agite, filii in Christi desideratissimi, memoramini, quanta pro amore Domini reliqueritis, quanta pro fratrum salute et ereptione pericula subieritis: patriam, domos, parentes posthabuistis, uosmetipsos exsilio adixistis ..." Ed. Hagenmeyer pp. 178–9. Cf. Robert of Rheims, RHC Oc. III p. 728.

49 Cf. examples in Riley-Smith 1980, pp. 178–9 and J. & L. Riley-Smith pp. 89–90.

The notion of “taking the cross” also became a technical term that meant taking the vow to go on crusade, as we saw in chapter 4.1 above. The crusader quite literally did take the cross to carry, because of the ritual in which he received a small cross of cloth to carry on his clothes until he had fulfilled the vow. Since it appears that crusaders had already received crosses of cloth to carry at Clermont, and since they have been demonstrated at the later grand campaigns, this means that the notion of taking the cross which stemmed from the texts in Matt. 10:38 and 16:24 was at work through the entire history of the crusading movement. In papal crusade documents, a direct quotation of these texts seems to appear for the first time in a general privilege for the Templars, *Milites Templi Ierusalemitani*, which was reissued and confirmed by successive popes. The earliest known copy of its full length is a document issued by Celestine II in 1144, but it may have been issued already in the 1130s by Innocent II. The beginning of the privilege reads: “The Templars, new Maccabees in this time of Grace, renouncing earthly desires and possessions, bearing his cross, are followers of Christ.”<sup>50</sup> In the twelfth century alone, this bull was reissued at least 23 times.<sup>51</sup>

Curiously enough, however, the texts do not appear in any of the actual crusading bulls that were calling for people to take the cross before those issued by Innocent III. This does not mean that the earlier crusading bulls did not adhere to the theme of *imitatio Christi*, but that they used different versions of it. In fact, we may discern two alternating ways in which the theme was interpreted and used in the crusading bulls – one is the idea of following Christ in the sense of serving him who is the King of kings, and the other is the idea of following him in the sense of imitating his passion and death.

The New Testament speaks of both following and imitating Christ, differentiated in the Latin Bible by the terms *sequi* and *imitare*. From the outset, these were two different concepts, since following implies coming after and responding to an appeal, while imitation implies the idea of conforming and identifying.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, the two concepts are of course closely linked, and medieval theologians tended to equate them and to associate the “ye became followers (*imitatores*) of us and the Lord” (1 Thes. 1:6) with the precepts to take the cross to follow Christ in Matt. 10:38 and 16:24, which used the verb *sequi*, as well as with the admonitions to suffer with Christ, e.g. in 1 Peter 2:21, “because

50 “Milites Templi Ierusalemitani noui sub tempore gratie Machabei abnegantes secularia desideria et propria relinquentes, tollentes crucem suam secuti sunt Christum.” Ed. Hiestand 1972, no. 8 p. 215; cf. pp. 204, 213. Cf. also Riley-Smith 1980, p. 179.

51 Hiestand 1972, p. 214.

52 Constable 1995, pp. 145–6.

Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow (*sequimini*) his steps.” These were also associated with the hope that suffering with Christ could merit the salvation, e.g. in Romans 8:17, “if so be that we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified together” and 2 Timothy 2:11–12, “For if we be dead with him we shall also live with him; if we suffer, we shall also reign with him.”<sup>53</sup> Indeed, what was it about Christ that was to be followed or imitated? His life, his death, his resurrection? His virtues or his passion? The motive of *imitatio Christi* appeared in many different versions in medieval spirituality and theology. Beginning in the eleventh century, a passionate devotion to the humanity of Christ developed, which established the details of his earthly life, his behaviour, and appearance, as examples to imitate for devout Christians. Within the visual arts, the development of this spirituality corresponded to the depiction of the suffering and dead Christ on the cross, which became increasingly common from the eleventh century, replacing the representation of the victorious saviour as the predominant way of depicting Christ on the cross in the thirteenth century, and which served as a popular focus of attention of the devotion to the passion of Christ.<sup>54</sup> Within theology, it was paralleled by the new interpretation of the Redemption by Peter Abelard, who found that the very point of the incarnation and passion of Christ was that he was to be a teacher and an example to man.<sup>55</sup> Among the many proponents of the *imitatio Christi* motive, perhaps the most important and influential was Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>56</sup> His sermons and treatises have many references to imitating and following Christ, and he had a great impact not only on the spirituality of the Cistercians, but also on a much wider circle. He criticized Abelard for his theory of the Redemption, and argued that Christ did not come into the world only to be a teacher, but also to liberate, and that without the sacramental aspects of the redemption and the remission of sins, the examples Christ had given of love and humility would not be enough to save man.<sup>57</sup> However, he agreed that it was a very important aspect of Christ’s mission in this world, and many of Bernard’s statements on the imitation of Christ seems to be very close to the Abelardian outlook. In his sermons, Bernard repeatedly

53 Cf. Constable 1995, pp. 145–6.

54 Constable 1995, pp. 179–81.

55 See above chapter 3.2.2.

56 See *Dictionnaire du spiritualité* vol. 7:2 col. 1571–3; J. Leclercq, “The Imitation of Christ and the Sacraments in the Teaching of St Bernard” in *Cistercian Studies* 9 (1974), pp. 36–54; Constable 1995, pp. 188–90.

57 Bernard of Clairvaux: *Tractatus de erroribus Abelardi*, PL 182: 1071–2; *De laude novae militiae* XI, 18, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H. Rochais, vol. 3 (1963), pp. 213–39, here pp. 229–37.

set Christ as an example to be imitated by himself and by his fellow monks.<sup>58</sup> This teaching Bernard also found useful for the Templars, as it appears in his work of exhortation for them, *In Praise of the New Knighthood*: “The life of Christ is for me a rule of life, his death a ransom from death. The former builds up life, the latter destroys death.”<sup>59</sup>

The use of the *imitatio Christi* motive in exhortations to wars for the Church may be observed already in Gregory VII who, as we saw above in chapter 2.2, proclaimed the fighting for the rights of the Roman see as doing service for St. Peter, and who anticipated some of the crusading terminology in his letters. These reached a climax in a call for support against the German emperor in 1082, in which Pope Gregory incited all faithful of the apostolic chair to fight for their heavenly Lord and not to hesitate to give their lives for him, no less than secular soldiers usually hesitated to die for their secular lord. The reward for this service would not be death but eternal beatitude, Gregory VII assured, for Christ had promised that those who endured persecution for his sake would be saved. Gregory also portrayed Christ as the master who is still crying out to his faithful (in a paraphrase of 2 Tim. 2:12), “For our master cries, ‘If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him.’”<sup>60</sup> This language was to reappear a little over a century later in the crusading bulls of Gregory VIII and Innocent III. Already in Gregory VII we may however detect the two different ideas within the theme of following Christ: one is of doing service to Christ, who is the heavenly Lord, to show him loyalty, and to follow him as a servant follows his lord. The other is of performing self-sacrifice in imitation of Christ, who delivered man from eternal death, and to follow him in his passion, giving one’s life for God and the brothers.

Both ideas are present in the papal bulls from the beginning of the period, even if the theological themes are not brought out very clearly in these often quite short letters. There are hints of the latter aspect in Urban II’s letters about the crusade. In the letter to Bologna from 1096, he exhorts his faithful to continue to follow bravely in the path of truth, because “he that shall persevere

58 E.g. in *On the Song of Songs*, II 33: 1; ed. *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux* vol. 3, Cistercian fathers series 7 (1976), p. 144. Numerous other references can be found in the works cited by Leclercq and Constable.

59 “Vita Christi vivendi mihi regula exstitit, mors a morte redemptio. Illa vitam instruxit, mortem ista destruxit.” *De laude novae militiae* XI, 18, pp. 229–30. I follow the translation of Leclercq 1974, p. 44. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux: *Treatises* III, transl. Conrad Greenia, Cistercian Fathers Series 19 (1977), p. 154.

60 “Clamat enim magister noster: ‘Si compatimur, et conregnabimus.’” Reg. Greg. IX: 21 p. 603. Cf. Reg. Greg. I: 49, p. 75; II: 37, p. 173.

unto the end, he shall be saved.”<sup>61</sup> In the same letter, as well as in the later letter to the counts of Catalonia, Urban also declared that the spiritual reward was granted because the participants risked their lives, or died for the love of God and their brothers.<sup>62</sup> According to the chronicles, this theme of brotherly love was put forward in his sermon at Clermont as well as the aspect of service. Especially in the accounts of Baldric of Dol, Fulcher of Chartres, and Guibert of Nogent, the crusaders are the soldiers of Christ,<sup>63</sup> summoned for this war by God to “defend the freedom of the fatherland,”<sup>64</sup> following “Jesus Christ your leader”<sup>65</sup> and “standard-bearer” who is going ahead of the crusaders.<sup>66</sup> Loyalty to this prince would be richly rewarded: “You ought to fight for such an emperor, who is all-powerful and who lacks none of the rewards with which to repay you,” Baldric points out.<sup>67</sup>

The chronicles also develop on a theme that appears frequently in later papal bulls: Jerusalem as the place sanctified by Christ’s presence. Jerusalem is the navel of the world, according to Robert of Rheims, because “the Redeemer of the human race made it famous by his birth, embellished it by his life, sanctified it by his passion, redeemed it by his death, left his seal upon it by his burial.”<sup>68</sup> To Guibert, this was the place where God himself had walked and left the holy places as traces of his footsteps, and to Baldric, this holy land did not have a single footstep which was not embellished or hallowed by the body or shadow of the Saviour or the martyrs.<sup>69</sup> In this way, Jerusalem is one, large relic, and the description relates to the idea of the crusade as a pilgrimage. Jerusalem is to be venerated as well as defended, and the chroniclers imply that spiritual merit was also to be gained by walking in these same places that had been sanctified by the presence of Christ.

The bulls of Eugenius III to launch the Second Crusade to the East subscribe to this theme, and refer to Jerusalem as “that city in which it was our Saviour’s will to suffer for us and where he left us his glorious sepulchre as a memorial of

61 Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 137. On the first crusaders as imitators of Christ, see now William Purkis, esp. pp. 30–47.

62 Ed. Hagenmeyer p. 137. For the princes of Catalonia 1096–99, ed. Kehr pp. 287–8.

63 Baldric, RHC Oc. IV p. 14; Fulcher, RHC Oc. III p. 324; Guibert, RHC Oc. IV p. 138.

64 Guibert, loc. cit.

65 Baldric, RHC Oc. IV p. 15.

66 Guibert, RHC Oc. IV p. 140.

67 Baldric, RHC Oc. IV p. 15; cf. L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 52.

68 Robert, RHC Oc. III p. 729, translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 44.

69 Guibert, RHC Oc. IV p. 138; Baldric RHC Oc. IV p. 14.



his passion.”<sup>70</sup> However, Eugenius did not proclaim the crusade as an imitation of Christ in either of his crusading bulls.<sup>71</sup> Instead, he seems to have found more use for the *imitatio* motive after the realization of the failure of this crusade. In a letter to the archbishop of Sens from 8 July 1149, he wrote about King Louis VII of France who was on his way home, that “this pious king has taken his cross to follow Christ, left his kingdom and country behind and hurried to the place where the feet of the Lord has stood, in order to defend the Christian faith.”<sup>72</sup> Despite the piety of the king and the fact that his kingdom had been placed under the protection of the Church, some of the magnates had however “on the instigation of the Devil” disturbed the peace in the king’s absence. This caused many grievances for Louis’ regent, Abbot Suger of St. Denis, and on the same day, Pope Eugenius wrote in a letter of consolation to Suger that he should hold out in his time of tribulations, remembering that living in Christ meant to endure persecutions: “Our Lord Jesus Christ came down not to the joys of the world but to the sufferings and death which he had to bear for us. We should therefore imitate our head himself because by suffering persecutions for him, relying on his promise, we shall be blessed in the eternal reward.”<sup>73</sup> This language of the imitation of the sufferings of Christ was probably very understandable for the abbot Suger, and not unusual among the men of the Church, but it was not yet used in crusading bulls for the lay.

In exhortative bulls, the theme of Jerusalem as sanctified by the presence of Christ was especially developed and used since the time of Alexander III who, as we saw above, gave further tenor to the theme of defence by pointing out that Jerusalem was the place where Christ had suffered for man and secured

70 “civitatem illam, in qua Salvator noster pro nobis pati voluit, et gloriosum ipsius sepulcrum passionis suae nobis memoriale dimisit,” PL 180: 1064.

71 On the absence of *imitatio Christi* in the official rhetoric of the Second Crusade, see now Purkis pp. 86–119.

72 “rex pius tollens crucem suam secutus est Christus, et relicta patria et regno, ad loca ubi steterunt pedes Domini, pro defensione Christianae fidei festinavit.” PL 180: 1394. Bernard of Clairvaux also used this expression in this situation, in a letter from May/June 1149 (ed. Bruno Scott James: *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux* (1998), pp. 472–3); and again when he tried to gain support for a new campaign in the Holy Land to make up for the failure in 1150 (ed. James pp. 475–6).

73 “Ipse namque Dominus noster Jesus Christus, non ad gaudia mundi, sed ad passiones et mortem pro nobis tolerandas descendit. Ipsum itaque caput nostrum imitari debemus quia si pro ipso persecutiones patimur, certi de promissione ipsius, erimus in aeterna retributione beati.” PL 180: 1395. Cf. Constable 1998, p. 191. On the regency of Suger see Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis. Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (1998), pp. 156–78.

his salvation. In a covering letter to his *Cor nostrum* from 1181 he too referred to Jerusalem as “the place where his feet has stood,” a paraphrase of Psalm 131 (132):7, “We will go into his tabernacles; we will worship at his footstool,” which was used in pilgrimage accounts before the First Crusade. After Alexander III it was repeated by both Celestine III and Innocent III.<sup>74</sup>

In the bulls of Alexander III, this reverence for the places that had been sanctified by the presence of Christ was linked to the idea of the obligation of doing service for Christ. In 1169, in the bull *Inter omnia*, he described how the Creator descended from heaven and did not disdain from dying on the cross or giving himself up as a sacrifice in order to save his useless servants. “So that he who live should not henceforth live unto himself, but unto him which died and rose again,” it is said with a paraphrase of 2 Cor. 5:15, which means that because Christ had given his life for man, man does not belong to himself, but his life belongs to the saviour.<sup>75</sup> In *Cor nostrum* from 1181, Alexander elaborated further on this point, and urged all faithful Christians to come to the rescue of the Holy Land where Christ had suffered for the sake of man, in order that the blood he had shed for man should not seem to have been forgotten. In both these bulls, however, the idea seems to be that men ought to do their duty as servants of Christ, not that they should imitate his passion.

The idea of Christ as an example that leads to salvation appears in the crusading bulls for the first time with Gregory VIII. In *Audita tremendi* issued by him in October 1187 the crusaders are admonished to work

for the recovery of that land in which for our salvation truth arose from the earth and did not despise to suffer for us the gibbet of the cross. And do not make your way there for money or worldly glory, but according to the will of God who taught by his own action that one ought to lay down one's life for one's brothers.<sup>76</sup>

This bull was issued after the news of the defeat at Hattin, but apparently before the fall of Jerusalem itself on 2 October had been confirmed to the curia by reliable reports.<sup>77</sup> In this situation, the threat towards the Holy Land was natu-

74 Alexander III: PL 200: 1296. Celestine III: PL 206: 972. Innocent III: Reg. 1 nos 13, 336 (PL 214: 11, 308). Cf. Schwerin p. 53.

75 PL 200: 599–600.

76 *Audita tremendi*, ed. Chroust p. 9. Transl. L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 66.

77 *Audita tremendi* relates of the capture of the relic of the true cross and the king of Jerusalem by Saladin at Hattin on 4 July 1187, but the further conquests of the Muslims are

rally painted in dark colours, and Gregory drew attention to the fact that this was the very land where God put on flesh and worked out the salvation for man by his own suffering, and the crusaders are admonished to give themselves to him, from whom they have received their very existence. It does not seem, however, that *Audita tremendi* draws the same “lesson” from these occurrences as did Innocent III later: that what Christ taught us by undergoing pain and death for us was that we owe it to him to give our lives for him, and that the crusade gives man an opportunity to pay him back. All the elements of this idea of “paying back” are there in *Audita tremendi*, but they are not worked together; rather it seems that man owes it to the Holy Land to repay it for all the wonders of salvation, and in this way this bull points back to the bulls of Alexander III and also to the chronicles of the First Crusade: “Stir yourselves to the exercise of pious battles, so that you may repay Jerusalem the debt you owe her for the grace which she has lent you – it is from her that you have received the first implantations of the knowledge of God”<sup>78</sup> and, “It is a fine thing for you to die for Christ in that city where Christ died for you.”<sup>79</sup>

The idea of paying back Christ is, however, also contained in *Cum divina patientia*, which may be a fragment of a genuine bull of Gregory VIII. This is an interesting letter, because it appears to have been issued after the confirmed reports of the fall of Jerusalem, and this means that we have a bull from Gregory VIII from both before and after this epoch-making event.<sup>80</sup> It is also interesting from the point of view of the development of crusading privileges (see

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described in very general terms. It does not say that Jerusalem had fallen, but claims that more reports on the facts are needed before these events should be put into letters: “non credimus litteris exprimendum, donec ad nos aliquis de partibus illis accedat qui plenius ordinis veritatem exponat.” Ed. Chroust p. 7. The bull may have gleaned its information from a letter from the patriarch Eraclius to Pope Urban III, written between 5 and 20 Sep. (printed in Edbury, ed., *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade* (1996), p. 162–3), and one from the grand commander of the Templars, Terricus, written before 6 Aug. (printed in M. Barber, *The New Knighthood* (1998), p. 115–6). Against the interpretation argued here stands the assertion of Roger of Hoveden, that Urban III died on 20 Oct. of grief over the news of the capture of the king, the Cross, and the fall of Jerusalem (*Chronica* p. 322). Still, the fact that Jerusalem had been lost may have been added to the account due to a later rationalization.

78 “Si ergo piorum praeliorum exercito studeatis, ut sicut ab Iherusolimis Dei notitiae seminarium accepistis, ita illic mutuatae redhibitionem gratiae restituatis; ut per vos nomen catholicum propagetur ...” Guibert in RHC Oc. IV p. 139.

79 “Pulchrum sit vobis mori in illa civitate pro Christo in qua Christus pro vobis mortuus est.” Baldric in RHC Oc. IV p. 15.

80 Also Schwerin (p. 85) and Cramer (pp. 69, 72) found that *Audita tremendi* was written before, and *Cum divina* after, the news of the fall of Jerusalem were known to the papacy.

above chapter 4.1), and for these reasons its authenticity shall be discussed here. *Cum divina patientia* is contained in the anonymous narrative *De profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam*, which tells of a group of Danes and Norwegians who traveled to the Holy Land in order to join the Third Crusade. The author, probably a Norwegian Premonstratensian, calls himself “frater x canonicus”, and the work has been dated to the late 1190s.<sup>81</sup> The story opens by telling of the loss of Jerusalem and that the news of this catastrophe made the pope write a *lamentabile carmen* to all the regions of the world, exhorting the faithful to a new crusade. The letter is rendered in chapter III, and according to chapter IV, it reached the court of the Danish King Knud in Odense at Christmas time, where, upon hearing the message, all the participants were completely paralysed with grief until Esbern, the brother of Archbishop Absalon, reminding them of the deeds of their forefathers, incited several leading magnates to action in a great speech which is rendered in chapter V.<sup>82</sup>

When considering the authenticity of *Cum divina patientia*, it is important to take into account that it appears in a narrative, and that it plays a certain role in the structure of this narrative. On the other hand, it is not unusual for a medieval bull to be known only through narrative sources. According to the very comprehensive study of crusading bulls to the Holy Land by Ursula Schwerin, only four of those from the twelfth century are known in an original copy, and the majority are handed down through chronicles.<sup>83</sup> The authors of the chronicles may of course have been more or less accurate, and the author of *De profectioe* does actually himself declare that he is only rendering the substance of the papal appeal. This did not prevent Schwerin or the editors of the *Diplomatarium Danicum* from accepting it as an authentic letter of Gregory VIII.<sup>84</sup> Others have argued that it is not genuine, and that it is either a pure invention of the anonymous author,<sup>85</sup> or in fact only a paraphrase of the well-

81 Karen Skovgaard-Petersen, *A Journey to the Promised Land* (2001), pp. 8–9.

82 Printed in *Scriptores minores historiae danicae* 2, ed. M.Cl. Gertz (1918–20), pp. 457–92. I regret that I have not been able to make use of a forthcoming new critical edition by Karen Skovgaard-Petersen.

83 Ursula Schwerin, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innocens IV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kurialen Kreuzzugspropaganda und der päpstlichen Epistolographie* (1937), pp. 13–7.

84 Schwerin pp. 17, 82; DD 1: 3 no. 144. It is also accepted by Jaffé-Loewenfeld (JL) as no. 16073, by Cramer pp. 68, 72, and Cole 1991, p. 71.

85 Eirik Vandvik, *Om skriftet De profectioe Danorum* (1954), pp. 5–9; Jørgen Olrik, *Kroniker fra Valdemarstiden* (1900–1901), p. 128 n. 4.

known *Audita tremendi*.<sup>86</sup> There are indeed similarities between the two with regard to content, wording, and Biblical quotations,<sup>87</sup> but these may just be due to the fact that they were two bulls by the same pope, and be used as an argument for the authenticity of *Cum divina patientia*. The best argument for the originality of *Cum divina patientia* is, however, the fact that there must have been a second crusading bull by Gregory VIII, since his successor, Clement III, stated that Gregory had granted indulgences for sending subsidies to the Holy Land, a privilege which is not mentioned in *Audita tremendi*.<sup>88</sup> Even if it cannot be finally proven that the bull referred to by Clement III is the same bull as *Cum divina patientia*, that is made highly probable by the fact that the new privilege is actually mentioned in *De profectione*, though not as part of the papal letter, but in the speech of Esbern Snare in chapter v.<sup>89</sup> This indicates that our anonymous "Brother x" did know a crusading bull by Gregory VIII containing this privilege, and that he chose to put the provisions of it in the mouth of Esbern for reasons of composition – just as some of the contents of chapter II seem to be taken from a papal bull.<sup>90</sup>

However, if we accept that there was a second bull by Gregory VIII, and that this is handed down in *De profectione* with the incipit *Cum divina patientia*, we are still faced with the difficulties of knowing what its precise words were, since Brother x declares that he is only rendering the substance of the appeal. In this context we are especially interested in the last part of the chronicle's papal letter:

86 Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (1980), p. 110; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (1998), pp. 31–2;

87 See Skovgaard-Petersen pp. 29–36; Anthony Perron, *Rome and Lund, 1178–1274: A Study in the Church History of a Medieval Fringe*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago (2002), pp. 62–3 n. 10.

88 See above chapter 4.1.

89 Ed. Gertz p. 467.

90 Carl Erdmann has indicated that the *Cum divina patientia*-bull (JL 16073) was also sent to Portugal. This would have given substance to the thesis that it should be regarded as a genuine and original bull. However, Erdmann refers to the testimony of the sixteenth-century chronicle of Ruy de Pina as evidence that King Sancho I received a crusade bull from Gregory VIII in 1187, and Erdmann asserts that Pina's indications in his chapter 6 "stimmen [...] gut mit dem zusammen, was wir sonst von Gregors VIII. Kreuzaufen (JL: 16073) wissen." It appears, though, that Pina is in fact talking of a bull of Innocent III (p. 51). Cf. Erdmann: "Der Kreuzzugsgedanke in Portugal" in *Historischer Zeitschrift* (1930), p. 28 with n. 2; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de El-Rei D. Sancho I* (1906), pp. 49–53. Cf. also Schwerin p. 85 n. 448, who follows Erdmann.

let them mourn this misfortune of Christ, let them remember that they are indebted to him for their redemption, and let them not suffer this injury to Christ to stay any longer unavenged. In order to redeem us he surrendered himself unhesitatingly to death, death even on the cross (Phil. 2:8, cf. Eph. 5:2), therefore let us in turn take him as an example and not waver from giving life and soul for Christ; because anyone who makes his life dearer than Christ does not deserve Christ [*Christum non meretur*].<sup>91</sup>

Christ is here the Redeemer as well as a teacher and example of self-sacrifice; as he gave himself up for man on the cross, the crusaders are to take him as their example and give up everything in the same way. Moreover, they are indebted to him for their salvation, and now they are admonished to try to redeem this debt by giving their lives for Christ. Only thus can they “merit Christ.” The last line is obviously inspired by Matt. 10:38 “And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me (*non est me dignus*).” The term *sequi*, follow, does not occur directly in *Cum divina patientia*, but clearly the idea of following Christ here involves more than following him to the Holy Land to defend his rights. By stressing the obligation to actually die for Christ, not only to put one’s life at risk, *Cum divina patientia* gives a new fervour to the concept of service which we saw in Alexander III. Now the suffering, the imitation of the passion, becomes the point itself. Of course, earlier popes must also have envisaged that some of the crusaders would die on the campaigns they were proclaiming, but this eventuality is not elaborated as clearly in any of the earlier bulls, and neither was it presented as a prerequisite for obtaining merit. One reason for this is probably that such an argument would only appeal to the very zealous crusaders; in the propaganda, it would be much better to stress the idea of serving Christ and of ultimately following him to salvation. Another reason may be the theological implications raised by speaking of an obligation to die for Christ, which could involve the question of seeking out martyrdom; it was never officially accepted for Christians to seek out martyrdom, which would come too close to self-salvation and to committing suicide, a mortal sin.

But maybe the news of the fall of Jerusalem caused Pope Gregory to take the tenor of his rhetoric up a notch? That is, of course, providing that *Cum divina*

91 “uicem Christi doleant et meminerit se debitores redemptionis sue, nec patiantur iniuriam Christi fore diutius inultam. Et qui se pro nobis redimentis incunctanter dedit in mortem, mortem autem crucis, nos uersa uice ipsum ponamus exemplum, pro Christo animam dare non dubitemus; quia qui preciosiorem facit animam suam Christo, Christum non meretur.” Ed. Gertz p. 464.

*patientia* is evidence of an authentic bull by Gregory VIII, and that it was indeed issued after the news of the fall of Jerusalem had reached Europe, as the fragment leads us to believe.<sup>92</sup> Yet one question remains to be considered in this discussion, and this concerns the relation of *Cum divina patientia* to the rhetoric of the bulls of Innocent III. As fervent and high-pitched as *Cum divina patientia* may seem in its admonition to pay back Christ by dying for him, it is actually no more fervent than Innocent's bulls, with which it has many similarities. Not only do they have the idea of paying back Christ and – in a few of them – the outspoken obligation to give up one's life for him; they also show other thematic and verbal similarities. The three bulls issued by Innocent III in 1198 in order to launch the Fourth Crusade, *Quanta sit circa*, *Plorans ploravit*, and *Post miserabile*, all carry the same themes as *Cum divina patientia*, of Jerusalem as the inheritance of Christ that has been polluted by the infidels, and of avenging this injury against Christ.<sup>93</sup> They also claim that man ought to repay Christ for salvation, and that this is done by taking the cross. *Post miserabile* even goes on in much the same manner as *Cum divina patientia* by stating that since God died for man, man should not hesitate to die for God.<sup>94</sup> This bull, as well as *Plorans ploravit*, also has the theme of utter sorrow, tears, and crying of the Church for the calamities in the Holy Land, which is very prominent in *Cum divina patientia*. In this respect, however, there is more similarity between *Cum divina patientia* and *Nisi nobis*, Innocent's bull from 1200. Both use the same text from Isaiah 58:1, "Cry aloud, spare not", and regard it as a precept for the pope: that he should cry out for the Church and call to crusade.<sup>95</sup> *Nisi nobis*, however, does not have the theme of the pollution of the inheritance of Christ, and the obligation to fight for Christ is phrased differently than in both *Cum divina patientia* and his earlier bulls. With regard to the privileges, all the

92 "ciuitas sancta, destructa munitione et pollutis edibus sacris et in captiuitatem et mortem deductis habitatoribus, ab immundis gentibus, nemine iam renitente, possideatur." Ed. Gertz p. 463. *Cum divina patientia* was dated 29 November by Jaffé-Loewenfeld (JL no. 16073, p. 533) and the *Diplomatarium Danicum* (DD 1: 3 p. 225), but the grounds for this seems unsure; for a discussion please see Appendix 1, note 35 below.

93 *Quanta sit circa*: Reg. 1 no. 13. *Plorans ploravit*: Reg. 1 no. 302. *Post miserabile*: Reg. 1 no. 336 (PL 214: 10–11, 263–5, 308–12).

94 "Si Deus subiit mortem pro homine, dubitabit homo mortem subire pro Deo [...]" Reg. 1 no. 336 p. 501 (PL 214: 310).

95 *Nisi nobis*: Reg. 2 no. 259 (PL 214: 832). This became a favoured theme for Innocent, as he used it again in 1213 in his crusading bull *Quia maior*, PL 216: 817. It was used in much the same meaning by Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes* no. 54, ed. Cowdrey p. 131; and as a precept to all preachers by Bernard of Clairvaux in the copy K of his letter 363, see Leclercq 1971, p. 298.

bulls of Innocent, except *Quanta sit circa*, have the indulgence for sending subsidies for the Holy Land.

Considering all these similarities with the early bulls of Innocent III, it seems fair to ask if the author of *De profectione* was in fact using a bull of Innocent III as a model for his papal letter, and not one of Gregory VIII's.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, no single bull of Innocent III shows all the themes of *Cum divina patientia*, and this means that the simpler model of the handing on of themes is from Gregory VIII to both Brother X and Innocent III. Moreover, it should be noted that there are also similarities between *Audita tremendi* and the bulls of Innocent III, which means that we have evidence that the latter did favour some of the themes that we know were also used by Gregory. In particular, the use of Psalm 78 (79):1, "The heathens are come into thy inheritance", and the idea that man ought to give himself to he who endured crucifixion for man, as well as the idea of the crusade as an opportunity for man to do penance, and as a test of man's penitence and loyalty, which are found in both *Audita tremendi* and in the bulls of Innocent, are testimonies to a spiritual affinity between Gregory VIII and Innocent III.<sup>97</sup>

The existence of the idea of paying back at the time of the loss of Jerusalem is in fact also attested by another source of the late 1180s. It is found in a poem by Berter of Orleans, *Lamentatio de Terra Sancta Jerusalem*:

In delivering Himself to the torturer,  
Christ obtained a loan for the sinner;  
If, sinner, you don't wish to die  
For Him who died for you,  
You ill repay that loan  
To your own Creator.<sup>98</sup>

96 The dating of *De profectione* has not been determined precisely, but it must have been written after 1193 and probably before 1202, most likely in the late 1190s, which makes it possible that the author knew a crusading bull by Innocent III. On the dating see Skovgaard-Petersen pp. 8–9.

97 Cf. *Quanta sit circa*, Reg. 1 no. 13; *Plorans ploravit*, Reg. 1 no. 302; *Post miserabile*, Reg. 1 no. 336; *Nisi nobis*, Reg. 2 no. 259; *Ne nos ejus tangeret*, Reg. 11 no. 25 (PL 215: 1354–8); *Rem crudelem*, Reg. 11 no. 27 (PL 215: 1359–60); *Utinam Dominus*, Reg. 11 no. 180 (PL 215: 1500–3); *Quia maior*, PL 216: 817–21.

98 "Christus tradens Se tortori/ Mutuavit peccatori/ Si peccator non vis mori/ Propter te mortuum/ male solvis mutuuum/ Tuo Creatori." *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, II pp. 330–2. Translation from Skovgaard-Petersen p. 34. Cf. Vandvik pp. 9–11.



This means that there are other possible sources of inspiration for the theme in the papal bull of *De profectione* than the bulls of Innocent III. Eirik Vandvik, who first pointed to the poem of Berter of Orleans in this connection, found that the author of *De profectione* must have got the theme from Berter, because it was unlikely that the “frater x” would have come up with such an “original and sublime” idea independently of the French poet.<sup>99</sup> However, the inspiration does not need to have gone directly from Berter to the anonymous, since Vandvik found no other obvious similarities between the *Lamentatio* and *De profectione*. The idea of paying back Christ may well have been widespread at this time – and later we will see that it can be traced back at least to Peter the Venerable at the time of the Second Crusade (see chapter 6.1).

Indeed, the elements of this idea are found in a source much closer to Gregory VIII, in Cardinal Henry of Albano’s *De peregrinante civitate Dei* from 1188. Henry of Albano (c. 1140–89, also known as Henry de Marcy) was Gregory VIII’s principal crusading preacher and former abbot of Clairvaux.<sup>100</sup> Henry left the papal court sometime in November in order to preach the crusade, but he was still there at the drawing up of *Audita tremendi*, and he appears obvious as a source of influence on it. His *De peregrinante civitate Dei* contains both the idea of vindication of the injuries against God and his inheritance, which started to appear in the papal bulls from this time on, as well as the Bernardinian *tempus acceptabile* motive, which is also found in *Audita tremendi*, and to which we will return below.<sup>101</sup> The thirteenth tract of Henry’s *De peregrinante civitate Dei* is devoted to the lamentation of the capture of Jerusalem by the infidel.<sup>102</sup> This leaves no doubt that it is the obligation of every Christian to make sacrifices for Christ, who sacrificed himself for the sins of man, in order to be not only an example to imitate, but also a remedy of justification. Nor does Henry of Albano leave any doubt that it is the obligation of the faithful to fight to the death for Christ.<sup>103</sup> Henry does not speak directly of “paying back”,

99 Vandvik p. 11: “Den tanken – at ein krossfarar berre gjer likt for like når han forløyser Forløyseren – er vel både for original og sublim til at ein kunne tenkja seg han framsprungen hos “frater x” samstundes med at ein fransk diktar konsiperte han.”

100 Cf. Skovgaard-Petersen p. 34. On the life and treatise of Henry of Albano see Yves Congar, “Henry de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d’Albano et légat pontifical” in *Analecta Monastica v, Studia Anselmiana*, fasc. 43 (1958), pp. 1–90; Cole 1991, pp. 65–71.

101 Indeed, there are further similarities, esp. the use of the example of charity of the Maccabees, whom the crusaders are expected to supercede as they are under the new law; *Audita tremendi*: PL 202: 1542; Henry: PL 204: 352. More on the similarities between Bernard, *Audita tremendi*, and Henry below in chapter 6.1.

102 PL 204: 350–61.

103 *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, PL 204: 353, 355.

but his tract is evidence that the idea of an obligation to do for Christ what he had done for man by self-sacrifice for Christ was present in the circle of crusade preachers and organizers surrounding Gregory VIII, as well as the emphasis on the will to actually die for Christ, which as we saw distinguished *Cum divina patientia* from *Audita tremendi*. Therefore, the fact that it appears in *Cum divina patientia* does not disqualify the authenticity of this fragment, and we need not assume that Brother x got it from another source than a letter by Gregory VIII, which he was paraphrasing for his *De profectione*.

Earlier we saw that the theme of the crusade as defence was intensified and centred on the person of Christ in the latter part of the twelfth century, parallel to the retreats in the crusader states. The same is observed with regard to the theme of *imitatio*. Increasingly, it appears that the point of the crusade is to suffer for Christ and that merit is won by suffering for him as well as for defending his rights and inheritance. The crusader enters into a personal relationship with Christ, in which he serves him and reenacts his passion.

This strong emphasis on the personal relationship with Christ also means that the spiritual goal is detached from the military goal. Thus, merit is won regardless of the military success or failure, and for this reason the outcome of the crusade could be a success even if it led to no territorial gains. In fact, the more dire the hardships, the more loyal the crusader would prove himself towards Christ. It is probably not a coincidence that this argumentation was intensified at the same time as the Christian rule in the Holy Land was severely diminished. In the long history of the decline of the crusader states, the most important setback was the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. Even though the later crusades for the East set out in the hope of regaining the holy city, the fact that this city itself had been lost and that it remained in enemy hands must have made the prospects of an actual reconquest seem gloomy. All the previous losses had been regarded as warnings and incentives to penitence and improvement, but the defeat of Jerusalem itself was the real blow. After this loss there were good reasons for focusing on the spiritual values of the crusade. This is especially observed in the bulls of Innocent III, who stressed the personal relationship between the crusader and Christ,<sup>104</sup> as well as the will to suffer and die for him in order to pay him back what he had suffered for man. However, if we accept *Cum divina patientia* as evidence and fragments of an authentic bull by Gregory VIII (and there is much to be said for this thesis, even if it cannot be fully

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104 See Maier 1999b, p. 356: "Innocent III more than any of his predecessors saw crusade spirituality in terms of the personal relationship between the individual crusader and Christ."

proved), it is observed in papal discourse already at the moment when Jerusalem was known to have been lost.

The bulls of Innocent III present a fully unfolded vision of the *imitatio Christi* in a crusading context, and, as mentioned above, his were also the first to quote the text of Matt. 16:24 directly. It appears already in *Quanta sit circa* from 1198, in which Innocent asks how we are to pay back Christ for all he has paid for us. The answer is to take up one's cross and follow Christ in order to avenge the injuries against him.<sup>105</sup> A similar appeal was sent to the count of Toulouse in 1198,<sup>106</sup> and the quotation also appears in *Nisi nobis*. Here, the pope presents it as his task to cry out on behalf of the crucified one that people should take up their crosses. This theme is further exploited in *Quia maior* from 1213, which is opened by the image of Christ hanging on the cross, and as he was dying, he was crying out with a loud voice that he would save us from the torments of eternal death. And now he is crying out to us again, the bull asserts:

He also cries out with his own voice and says, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me," as if he were saying, "whoever wants to follow me to the crown must also follow me to that battle that is now put forth for every one as a test."<sup>107</sup>

However, the idea of paying back Christ disappears from the bulls of Innocent III after 1198. In *Nisi nobis* from 1200 and the later bulls, it is once again replaced by the idea of doing service for Christ. Perhaps the reason was that the theological implications of an idea of "redeeming the Redeemer" were not altogether sound. If the idea is taken to imply that any man would ever be able to repay his debt to Christ it is outright heretical, and in fact Innocent himself seems to have realised this, as expressed in a letter to Duke Leopold VI of Austria from 1208:

by taking the cross you intend to repay in your turn Christ, who on it bore your infirmities and carried your sorrows. But, although your devotion is

105 "Quid igitur retribuamus Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit nobis? [...] Hoc vos diligentius attendentes, ut illud evangelicum impleretis: "*Qui vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me*", assumpto crucis signaculo ad vindicandam iniuriam Iesu Christi ..." Reg. 1 no. 13 p. 22 (PL 214: 11).

106 Reg. 1 no. 397 (PL 214: 374–5).

107 "qui clamat etiam per seipsum, et dicit: Si quis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me: ac si diceret manifestius: Qui vult me subsequi ad coronam, ne quoque subsequatur ad pugnam, quae nunc ad probationem proponitur universis." PL 216: 817–8.

great, this is a very uneven exchange because, apart from the seeming disparity of grace in the redeemed servant bearing for the Lord Redeemer just what the Lord Redeemer bore for the redeemed servant, there is yet much more merit in the gibbet of Christ's cross than in the little sign of your cross: although the glory of the cross is the same, its cost for you and for the Lord is not equivalent. For you accept a soft and gentle cross; he suffered one that was bitter and hard.<sup>108</sup>

The service of the Lord leads to an eternal reward, and Innocent asks, "should the servant deny his Lord temporal riches when the Lord offers the servant eternal riches?"<sup>109</sup> In the bulls of Innocent III, the service of the Lord is often compared to the service of a temporal king. *Nisi nobis* explains the seriousness of the call to crusade by urging the recipients to consider that if a temporal king was captured and his vassals did nothing to help him, he would condemn them as faithless, and "devise for them unimagined torments, with which he would bring them to a bad end." It continues:

Would not in the same way the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Ruler of rulers who bestowed on you body and soul, and have ransomed you by his precious blood, condemn you for the vice of ingratitude and the crime of infidelity if you fail to come to his aid, when he has been thrown out of the land which he purchased with the price of his blood, and when he has been kept back almost as a prisoner on the tree of the cross which brings salvation?<sup>110</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Reg. 11 no. 1 p. 1–2 (PL 215: 1339–41). Transl. from L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 91.

<sup>109</sup> "Negabit etiam servus Domino divitias temporales, cum Dominus servo divitias largitur eternas [...]" Reg. 1 no. 336 p. 501 (PL 214: 310).

<sup>110</sup> "Potestis enim et debetis considerare vobiscum: quodsi rex aliquis temporalis in captivitate forsitan deveniret, nisi vassalli eius pro liberatione regia non solum res exponerent sed personas, nonne cum restitueretur pristinae libertati et acciperet tempus iustitiae iudicandi, proditores eos regios et quasi perfidos et infideles dampnabiles iudicaret, excogitaret mortis hactenus inexcogitata tormenta, quibus malos male perderet et in eorum bona fideles aliquos subrogaret? Nonne similiter Dominus Iesus Christus, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium, qui corpus et animam vobis contulit, qui vos sanguine pretioso redemit, de ingratitudinis vitio et velut infidelitatis crimine vos dampnabit, si ei eiecto de terra, quam pretio sui sanguinis comparavit, et quasi captivo in salutiferae crucis ligno detento neglexeritis subvenire?" Reg. 2 no. 259 p. 499 (PL 214: 833).

The same argument is found with minor alterations in *Quia maior* from 1213.<sup>111</sup> The idea of comparing the crusade to a war fought for a secular lord was also used in the explanation of the crusade indulgence given by William of Auvergne in c. 1230, which is quoted in the Introduction above. William explained that just as a secular lord would see to it that his warriors were rewarded fittingly, so the King of kings commissioned his bishops to reward his warriors with indulgences. In the bulls of Innocent, however, the argument about the connection between service and reward is most often presented together with a threat of sanctions for not giving service, thus also in *Plorans ploravit*:

Who would deny dying for him, who for our sake was made obedient unto death, death even on the cross, he who has the power to let body and soul perish in hell, and who, because of his great compassion, has the power to change at the brief moment of death the reward for this life into eternal life?<sup>112</sup>

In the bulls of Innocent III, participation in the crusade became an obligation, a duty for all Christians, and it is almost stated as a necessary prerequisite for salvation. The call to take up the cross and serve Christ is directed to every Christian, not only to the able warriors. *Nisi nobis* admonishes all who are able to fight to take up arms, and all those who are not able to fight to send subsidies in relation to their abilities.<sup>113</sup>

Thus, the propaganda and theology of Innocent's crusading bulls are consistent with the increased number of privileges for non-combatants, and the innovation of indulgences for sending money and substitutes, which took place

<sup>111</sup> PL 216: 817. See also *Utinam Dominus*, Reg. 11 no. 180 p. 296 (PL 215: 1500), and *Ad liberandam*, ed. Alberigo p. 244.

<sup>112</sup> "Quis pro eo mori deneget, qui factus est pro nobis, obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis; qui habet potestatem corpus et animam perdere in gehennam et secundum multitudinem miserationem suarum brevi temporalis mortis compendio vitam istam in eternam potens est commutare?" Reg. 1 no. 302 pp. 431–2 (PL 214: 264). *Ad liberandam* from 1215 states a similar sanction; those who refuse should know that they will have to answer to the pope in the presence of the Judge on the Day of Judgement. Ed. in Alberigo p. 244.

<sup>113</sup> "Monemus igitur universitatem vestram et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem vobis iniungimus peccatorum [...] qui potentes sunt praelium Domini preliari, et crucem et arma capescant; qui vero non sunt habiles ad pugnandum, in expensis suis secundum proprias facultates aliquos dirigant bellatores;" Reg. 2 no. 259 p. 499 (PL 214: 833).

at the beginning of his pontificate.<sup>114</sup> Those who were not able to fight were called upon to contribute with money and with regular prayers, which were also established by Innocent III.<sup>115</sup> Participation was now open to everyone, but at the same time it was no longer voluntary but a duty, a summons of all Christians. The propaganda of Innocent III thus served to broaden the basis of contributors to the crusade and sought to secure means from as many of the faithful as possible. This could lead to the assumption that his exhortations were motivated primarily by pecuniary issues. On the other hand, the way in which Innocent III tried to inspire a sense of guilt and debt for the redemption in his crusading bulls should probably also be seen as testimony that to Innocent, the call to crusade was also a call to conversion and penitence. It was a call for the sinners to seek atonement from God, and therefore their realization of their guilt was important. Innocent III seems to have believed that the success of the crusading movement rested on the concerted efforts of all the faithful and of their favour with God.<sup>116</sup> As remarked by Christoph Maier, "His was a vision of a Christian society organized for the *negotium crucis*."<sup>117</sup> To Innocent, the business of the crusade was furthermore an integrated part of the reform of society, which involved moral renewal at every level and direction under the papacy. Participation in the crusade was a chance for the members of the Church to show loyalty to Christ and to the Church.<sup>118</sup>

The allusions to the feudal obligations are manifold in the papal crusading bulls in the later part of our period. From 1187 onwards, the crusaders are admonished to go as the true *fideles* and *vassalli* to liberate the *haereditas* or *terrae nativitat*is of their heavenly Lord, and this language seems to become more frequent and more urgent in the bulls of Innocent III. This is yet another example of participation in the crusade becoming a personal relationship between the crusader and Christ. It was the personal rights of Christ that were at stake, not those of the Church, and in the second half of the twelfth century, the theme of defence of the Church was replaced with that of service of Christ,

114 See also John Gilchrist, "The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198–1216)" in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Schatzmiller (1993), pp. 65–83; and Christoph T. Maier, "Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade" in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (1999), pp. 351–60 (= Maier 1999b), esp. p. 354–5.

115 See Christoph T. Maier, "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Centuries" in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48: 4 (1997), p. 628–57, and Maier 1999b.

116 Cf. Maier 1999b, p. 354–5.

117 Maier 1999b, pp. 352.

118 Cf. John Gilchrist 1993, pp. 80.

expressed in feudal terms. At the First and the Second Crusade, the crusaders were admonished to defend their own honour and that of their fathers; at the later calls for crusades, the honour and rights of Christ came into focus. The bulls of Innocent III repeatedly urged the faithful to fight for Christ's *causa*, and the failure to do so was likened to committing *lese majestatis* against a secular king.<sup>119</sup> Likewise, the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council admonished the crusaders to fight for the cause of Christ, who is the only begotten Son of God, and to remember that he was the Lord by whose benefices (*beneficio*) they were sustained.<sup>120</sup>

The feudal concepts were also used by some of the theologians in order to explain the relationship between crusade and spiritual reward. William of Auvergne's comparison between the wars of kings and the wars of Christ has already been quoted, and the same imagery was used in popular sermons by Jacques de Vitry, to whom we shall return in chapter 6. In scholarly tracts, however, the theologians preferred to stress the penitential character of the crusade and the inner disposition of the crusader, who was risking his life for Christ, as the reason for merit. Thus, William of Auxerre appears to have thought that it was the crusader's intention to give his life for Christ that secured the indulgence, because the will to die for Christ enhanced his contrition, and by this contrition his sins were forgiven.<sup>121</sup> As we saw above in chapter 3.2.6, William of Auxerre gave this explanation before the advance of the teaching of the treasury of merit, but the reference to the will to die for Christ did not become obsolete after the acceptance of this teaching. A *questio* attributed to Alexander of Hales, but probably added to his *Summa Theologiae* after his death in 1245, states as justification for the plenary indulgences to the *peregrini* for the Holy Land that they were willing to risk their lives for Christ, and that by this intention they merited the reward of martyrdom. The pope could grant full remissions of penances because of the treasury of merit, but only for a major cause and when demanded by the "necessity of the Church", and above all for the defence of the faith.<sup>122</sup>

119 Reg. 2 no. 241 p. 461 (PL 214: 810).

120 Ed. Alberigo pp. 244.

121 *Summa aurea* IV p. 359.

122 "Praeterea, quia peregrini Terrae Sanctae parati sunt exponere se morti, & intentione hac illuc proficiscuntur, offerente se opportunitate, meritum consequuntur martyrii, ideo conceditur illis, &c. Non tamen negandum est, quin dominus Papa rationabiliter posset istam eandem indulgentiam dare alibi, si immineret necessitas ecclesiae: & maxime pro fidei defensione." Alexandri Alensis Angli, *Summae Theologiae* (1622), pp. 640–1. Cf. Paulus I pp. 268, 286–7.

### 5.3 From *Sacrificium Acceptabile* to *Tempus Acceptabile*

The crusade was also presented as a form of penance in the papal bulls, and as such it would also incur spiritual merit. As we saw in chapter 2.3 above, Urban II clearly indicated in his letters that the efforts of the crusaders in both Spain and the Holy Land worked for the absolution of their sins in the same way as a penance, because the crusaders were labouring for God and the Church. In a couple of letters, he directly described participation in this work as a sacrifice brought to God, an acceptable sacrifice by which the crusader would gain indulgence for his sins.<sup>123</sup> The words used by Urban II were *recta oblatio* and *sacrificium acceptabile*.

In the bulls of Innocent III, the theme of penance also plays an important role. Here, the crusade is presented as an opportunity for the crusaders to do penance, and it is conceptualised as a *tempus acceptabile*, the acceptable time, or the time in which sinners are accepted again (Lev. 25:8–55; 2 Cor. 6:2). This expression marks an important new concept, which appears in crusading theology from around the middle of the twelfth century and which reaffirmed the relation between crusade and penance.

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the crusade was conceptualised in relation to penance all along. Paschal II was on much the same lines as Urban II when he wrote to the people of Alfonso of León-Castile in 1101, that they would earn the same merit on the Iberian peninsula as by going to Jerusalem: “there you will serve your penance by the mercy of God, there you will receive the remission and grace of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul and their apostolic Church.”<sup>124</sup> Eugenius III and Alexander III described the participation in the crusade as a holy and necessary *opus et laborem*,<sup>125</sup> and Anastasius IV agreed with Eugenius that it was “such a great work” that it would merit a worthy reward, meaning the same remission as that granted by Urban II.<sup>126</sup> In the bulls of Gregory VIII and Innocent III, however, participation in the crusade became related to penance and merit by way of the *tempus acceptabile* motive.

The *tempus acceptabile* theme itself and its link with crusading theology go back to Bernard of Clairvaux and his preaching and letters in support of the Second Crusade. We will return to Bernard and his great influence on the

<sup>123</sup> Ed. Kehr pp. 286–7; ed. Hiestand 1985, pp. 88–9.

<sup>124</sup> PL 163: 65a. See Appendix 1 for the Latin text.

<sup>125</sup> Eugenius: PL 180: 1065; *Pommerches Urkundenbuch* I p. 37; Alexander: PL 200: 385; ed. Hiestand 1972, pp. 252–3; cf. PL 200: 863.

<sup>126</sup> Ed. Kehr pp. 346–7.



propagation of this crusade in the next chapter. Here, however, we must note that Bernard began one of his crusading letters with the words "*Ecce nunc, tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies copiosae salutis* (2 Cor. 6:2)," "Now is the acceptable time, now is the day of abundant salvation,"<sup>127</sup> and in another, he described the time of the crusade as "*annus placabilis Domino, annus remissionis, annus utique iubilaeus*."<sup>128</sup>

The crusade was a time of remission and a year of jubilee to Bernard, and he seems to have been the first to link the concepts of jubilee and crusade indulgence.<sup>129</sup> At this point, one-and-a-half centuries before the Jubilees were instituted in the Roman Church in 1300, the meaning of the term "*jubilaeus*" was not yet firmly established, but it is clear that it had to do with remission, liberation, and joy. The *year of jubilee* is a reference to the holy year of the Mosaic Law in Leviticus 25:8–55, which states that every fiftieth year was to be hallowed and devoted to the Lord. In this year everything was returned to its proper state, all debts were cancelled and all slaves set free. Isaiah 61: 1–3 refers to this year as "the acceptable year of the Lord", "*annum Domini acceptum*". This is repeated in Luke 4:17–21, whereas St. Paul spoke of the day of salvation, the accepted time – or the "*tempus acceptabile*" in 2 Cor. 6:2. It was St. Jerome who introduced the term jubilee for this time of grace when he translated the Hebrew "jobhel" of Leviticus 25 to "jubilaeus" and explained it as a year of remission. This explanation was repeated in the *Etymologies* of Isidor of Seville.<sup>130</sup>

From these roots, the concept evolved from the middle of the twelfth century. Peter Comestor explained the historical meaning in his *Historia Scholastica*, and Gratian mentioned it in connection with penance and the remis-

127 This letter has no. 363 in the standard edition, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, eds. Jean Leclercq and Henri Rochais, vol. 8 (Rome, 1977). The two crusade letters are also discussed and edited in Jean Leclercq, 'L'encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade,' *Revue Bénédictine* 81:3–4 (1971), 282–308, see p. 295.

128 This letter has no. 458 in the standard edition, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* vol. 8. On the text see Leclercq 1971, pp. 283–8; esp. p. 286.

129 Raymonde Foreville, *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket. Du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVe siècle (1220–1470)* (1958), p. 29; Jürgen Petersohn, "Jubiläumsfrömmigkeit vor dem Jubelablass. Jubeljahr, Reliquientranslation und "remissio" in Bamberg (1189) und Canterbury (1220)" in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* namens der Monumenta Germanicae Historia (1989), pp. 31–53; Gary Dickson, "The Crowd at the Feet of Pope Boniface VIII: Pilgrimage, Crusade and the First Roman Jubilee (1300)" in *Journal of Medieval History* 25 no. 4 (1999), pp. 279–307, p. 286. Cf. also Étienne Delaruelle, "L'Idée de la croisade chez saint Bernard" in *Melanges Saint Bernard* (1953), pp. 60–64.

130 Isidori Hispalensis episcopi: *Etymologiarum sive originum* 1, ed. W.M. Lindsay (1911), Liber v, c. xxxvii: "Jubilaeus interpretatur remissionis annus."

sion of sins.<sup>131</sup> The contemporary Jewish, rabbinic schools gave a moral interpretation of the jubilee as a time of penitence, in which the soul is incited to return to its origin, and Peter Comestor as well as the Victorines consulted the rabbinic schools in order to learn the “Hebrew truth” of the Old Testament terms.<sup>132</sup> In 1189, the theme was used in connection with the canonisation of Otto of Bamberg, which happened 50 years after his death,<sup>133</sup> and in 1220, Stephen Langton used it in connection with the translation of the remains of St. Thomas Becket on the fiftieth anniversary of his martyrdom as justification for the indulgences which were granted on this occasion.<sup>134</sup>

A mystical interpretation of the term also developed from the middle of the twelfth century, primarily in Cistercian circles and in the school of St. Victor in Paris. Aelred (1109–66), abbot of Rievaulx, the main Cistercian house in England, compared the year of jubilee to the rest in the mystical union, and Richard of St. Victor saw it as the state of complete ecstasy in which the human spirit praised God fully and perfectly.<sup>135</sup> This was the state at which the soul was jubilant with joy, and Bernard of Clairvaux was speaking in the same tradition when he claimed that to him the name of Jesus was “*in corde jubilus*”.<sup>136</sup>

Similarly, the crusade was an occasion for joy and for remission, according to Bernard. Even though the fall of Edessa meant that “the Earth is shaken because the Lord of Heaven is losing his land,” Bernard found God’s mercy at work here, and he described the crusade as an artifice (*artificio*), invented by God for the salvation of men.<sup>137</sup> The proof was found in the fact that God is almighty. He could have chosen to wipe out his enemies himself, but instead, he was now pretending to be in need of his people:

Could he not send more than twelve legions of angels, or even just say the word and save his land? Most certainly he has the power to do this

131 Comestor: PL 198: 1095: “Jubel enim remissio...”. Gratian: dict. post. C. 33, q. 3, c. 87: “In jubileo plena remissio prestabatur.”

132 See R. Foreville, “Jubilé” in *Dictionnaire du Spiritualité* 8, col. 1479–80.

133 See Petersohn pp. 38–53.

134 PL 190: 421. See Foreville 1958.

135 See R. Foreville, “L’idée de Jubilee chez les théologiens et les canonistes (XIIe-XIIIe s.) avant l’institution du Jubilé Romain (1300)” in *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 56 (1961), pp. 401–23, here p. 407. Also Foreville 1958, pp. 32–3 and Foreville, “Jubilé” in *Dictionnaire du Spiritualité* 8, col. 1480.

136 On the etymology which combined *jubilaeus* and *jubilus* and led to *jubiläum* and *Jubel* see Herbert Grundmann, “Jubel” in *Festschrift für Jost Trier zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 15. Dec. 1954*, pp. 477–511; on Bernard here p. 498.

137 Ed. Leclercq p. 286 and 297.

whenever he wishes, but I tell you that God is trying you. [...] For God has pity on his people and on those who have grievously fallen away and has prepared for them a means of salvation. [...] He puts himself in your debt so that, in return for your taking up arms in his cause, he can reward you with pardon for your sins (*indulgentiam delictorum*) and everlasting glory.<sup>138</sup>

Alexander III's *Inter omnia* bull of 1169 carries the idea of the tribulations of the Holy Land as a test of God's faithful, but without the promising likening of the indulgence to a year of jubilee.<sup>139</sup> At the time of the Third Crusade, the *tempus acceptabile* motive is observed again in the crusading propaganda. Perhaps the transmission of the motive was due to the influence of Henry of Albano, who, as mentioned, was one of the chief preachers of the Third Crusade, but who had also preached against the Albigensians in 1178 with the approval of Alexander III, under whom he was made cardinal in 1179.<sup>140</sup> Henry was also a Cistercian abbot, one of Bernard's successors at Clairvaux, and in his lament over the loss of Jerusalem, which was dedicated to his monks, he used Bernard's ideas on the new situation. With the fall of Jerusalem and its desecration by the infidel, it seemed as if Muhammad had triumphed over Christ, but really it was a manifestation of God's justice and mercy. This was a test set up to give the faithful a chance to prove themselves:

This has not occurred because Muhammad was able to do it, but because Christ willed it, in that he wants to give the Christians an occasion for showing their zeal for the glory of the Lord, by vindicating the injury against the Father, and by vindicating his inheritance. Now is the acceptable time in which those who are proven are made manifest, in which God is testing who are his own, who are his faithful, who are unfaithful, who are the strange sons, who are his own.<sup>141</sup>

138 Translated in B.S. James pp. 461–2. This letter (no. 363 in the standard ed.) has been handed down in 38 manuscripts in somewhat different versions. The version in B.S. James is a little more elaborate on the last point than the one chosen in the ed. of Leclercq pp. 296–7.

139 PL 200: 599. Cf. Schwerin pp. 79–80 and Cramer p. 68.

140 Cole 1991, p. 65. On the similarities between Bernard, Henry and *Audita tremendi* see also Congar pp. 80–7, who contrary to the view argued here found that the similarities between the latter two were not compelling.

141 "Non enim haec acta sunt, quia Machometus potuit, sed quia Christus voluit, volens dare Christianitatis occasionem zelandi Domini sui gloriam, vindicandi Patris injuriam et haereditatem propriam vendicandi. Ecce enim tempus acceptabile, quo probati manifesti

Because of his experience as a promoter of the crusades against the Albigenians, Henry of Albano was suggested as the new pope on the death of Urban III in October 1187. However, Henry was more keen on leading the new crusade from the field and supported the candidacy of Albert of Mora instead, who was consecrated as Gregory VIII.<sup>142</sup> As noted above, there are several similarities between Henry's writings and *Audita tremendi*, and he may well have had an influence on the drawing up of this bull.

At any rate, *Audita tremendi* presents the crusade as a test and as an opportunity for penance:

The Lord, indeed, could save it by his will alone, but it is not for us to ask him why he has acted thus. For perhaps the Lord has wished to find out and bring to the notice of others whether there is anyone who has knowledge of him or is seeking after him and might joyfully embrace the chance of penitence offered to him and, in laying down his life for his brothers, may be killed in a brief moment and gain eternal life.<sup>143</sup>

The need to do penance is strongly emphasised in *Audita tremendi*. It appears that the tribulations of the Holy Land are due to the sins of men, and that the losses there are punishments sent by God. Only by turning to God with voluntary chastisement, penitence and good works, can the Christians hope to regain the Holy Land.<sup>144</sup>

Innocent III used the idea of the crusade as a test and a new chance of salvation several times. It is a test of faith, loyalty and penitence: "He put this contest before his faithful followers to awaken them from the sleep of death to the pursuit of life, in which he might try their faith as gold in the furnace."<sup>145</sup> The crusade is a very special outpouring of grace, since God is almighty and does not need men to conquer the Holy Land or to fight the Albigenians. It is an occasion to do penance and to revert to the Lord to prove oneself worthy in his service. For this reason, the crusade is called an "artifice" of Christ in *Quia maior*, "the ancient artifice of Jesus Christ, which he has deigned to renew in these times for the salvation of his faithful."<sup>146</sup> Here, Innocent uses the same

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fiant; quo probet Dominus, qui sint ejus; qui sint fideles, qui perfidi; qui filii alieni, qui proprii." PL 204: 355.

<sup>142</sup> Cole 1991, p. 66.

<sup>143</sup> PL 202: 1542; translation in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 66.

<sup>144</sup> PL 202: 1541.

<sup>145</sup> PL 216: 817. Cf. Reg. 2 no. 259; Reg. 11 nos 27, 298 (PL 214: 833–4; 215: 1359–60, 1502).

<sup>146</sup> PL 216: 817.

expression as Bernard of Clairvaux, who spoke of the crusade as "*artificio utitur ad salvandum vos*". To Bernard, however, this was a brand new and never before encountered outpouring of grace, while to Innocent, it is a "*vetus artificium*". Innocent used the same expression in 1208 on the occasion of the assassination of Peter of Castelnau, which prompted the Albigensian crusades. In this connection, however, the artifice was not the institution of crusading as such, but the "mechanism" of the redemption in which one man died in order that all may live, and in which Christ destroyed death by dying.<sup>147</sup> Innocent saw this mechanism at play again in the fight against the Albigensians.

The crusading letters of Innocent III do not use the expression *tempus acceptabile* directly, but his successor, Honorius III, gave it a very prominent position in his crusading encyclical of 1217, which opens with these words.<sup>148</sup> In Innocent's letters, however, the crusade is clearly conceptualised in the terms of a jubilee: it is a time of special grace, because it presents a chance to prove one's loyalty to Christ in the great test he is proposing. It is a time for penance, to return to the Lord, and "a cause from which much good has already come" as *Quia maior* claims. Even before the crusade had departed, and at a point when Jerusalem was still lost to the Muslims, the crusade was a useful cause, because:

How many men, converted to penance, have delivered themselves up to the service of the Crucified One in order to liberate the Holy Land and have won a crown of glory as if they had suffered the agony of martyrdom, men who perhaps might have died in their wicked ways, ensnared in carnal pleasures and worldly enticements!<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup> "Hoc est enim vetus artificium Iesu Christi, hoc miraculosum ingenium Salvatoris, ut, cum in suis victus esse putatur, tunc vincat fortius in eisdem et ea virtute, qua ipse mortem moriendo destruxit ..." Reg. 11 no. 25 p. 33. (PL 215: 1356). The last expression seems also to have a Bernardinian origin, cf. *De laude novae militiae* XI, 18, eds. Leclercq & Rochais, pp. 229–30; Ane L. Bysted, "Crusading Ideology and Imitatio Christi in Anders Sunesen, Bernard of Clairvaux and Innocent III" in *Les élites nordiques et l'Europe occidentale (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, eds. Tuomas M.S. Lehtonen & Elisabeth Mornet (2007), pp. 127–38.

<sup>148</sup> "Tempus acceptabile instat et dies salutis advenit, ut hii qui ere peccatorum se diabolo vendiderunt, tamquam in novi iubilei iubilo ammissam recuperent libertatem, et per nove redemptionis remedium animas redimant fraude diabolica captivatas." *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum selectae* I (1883), p. 9. Honorius used the theme again in his bull for a crusade in Prussia in 1218, *Codex Diplomaticus prussicus*, ed. Johannes Voigt (1836), I p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> "O quanta jam provenit utilitas ex hac causa! quam multi conversi ad poenitentiam pro liberatione terrae sanctae mancipaverunt se obsequio crucifixi, et quasi per agonem martyrii coronam gloriae sunt adepti, qui forte in suis iniquitatibus periissent, carnalibus

Both the concepts of *sacrificium acceptabile* and *tempus acceptabile* address the crusade as a penance, and make it clear that merit is earned in the crusades in the same way as in penance. Between these two principles, however, there is a very important shift of emphasis. Whereas the *sacrificium acceptabile* model might imply the problems of self-salvation, the *tempus acceptabile* model has eliminated these. The reason is that the subject in the process of justification has changed. In the former model, the disposition and effort of the crusader is emphasised, while in the latter the subject is God; it is God who has allowed the Holy Land to pass to the infidel, and it is God who is now proposing the way of the cross as a test of loyalty and faith. Merit is still earned by the crusader, of course, but the grace and forgiveness is not caused by something the crusader is performing out of his own powers alone. Using the terms invented by the thirteenth-century scholastics to solve the problems of penance and absolution, one might say that in the former model, the forgiveness seems to be caused by the work of the worker (*ex opere operantis*), that is, the work undertaken by the crusader. In the latter, however, the cause of the forgiveness is the work worked (*ex opere operato*), that is, the act of going on crusade in itself. This work is still done by the crusader, but the real subject is God, who has inspired him to take the cross. Thus, the crusader is not the origin of his own salvation.

When Bernard of Clairvaux described the crusade as a jubilee or *tempus acceptabile* he solved or clarified a problem that had been left open to interpretation since the preaching of the First Crusade.<sup>150</sup> He steered crusade theology free of self-salvation and semi-Pelagianism by emphasising God's mercy as the operating force behind the crusade. In this theology God is inviting the crusaders to participate in His expedition, and merit is granted to those who seize the opportunity and accept God's invitation. The crusaders on the other hand are only able to join the expedition because God has invited and inspired them to do so. It is thus made clear that the crusaders are not saving themselves by their own means. Bernard thus accentuated the mercy of God more than Urban II appears to have done, since judging from the evidence the pope's message had focussed on the works and the devotion of the crusaders. But this does not necessarily mean that Bernard's concepts of penances and indul-

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voluptatibus et mundanis illecebris irretiti!" PL 216: 817. Transl. from L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 120.

150 See also Ane L. Bysted, "The True Year of Jubilee: Bernard of Clairvaux on Crusade and Indulgences" in *The Second Crusade. Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, eds. Jason T. Roche and Janus Møller Jensen (forthcoming 2015).

gences were fundamentally different from Urban's, as Riley-Smith has argued,<sup>151</sup> or that he was more assured of a divine reward for the crusaders than Urban had been. When Bernard preached the crusade indulgence as a reward granted by God the reason may well have been that he wanted to underline the point that God's mercy is the origin of salvation and to bring home to his audience that they were not merely saving themselves. Bernard's concept of *tempus acceptabile* solved some inherent ambiguities in crusade theology, and furthermore presented it in an accessible form. For these reasons it was adopted by later popes and preachers.

#### 5.4 Conclusions

We have now seen how the idea that the crusaders earned merit was addressed and justified in the papal bulls. Incessantly, the crusade was described as a war of defence, and thus it was placed within the boundaries of legitimate warfare. The theories of just violence furthermore demanded that wars were fought on legitimate authority and with the right intentions, and the bulls take this into account by describing the crusades as fought on the authority of God and the Church, and by demanding that the crusaders were motivated by devotion to and love of Christ. These were important points because they were all necessary conditions for obtaining merit in the crusades. It was only in the later part of the period, however, that the vocabulary of the learned discussion on just violence began to appear directly in the bulls, when they adopted the language of the just war as an avenging of injuries. This happened around the time of the loss of Jerusalem, in 1187, when the bulls started talking of the crusade as avenging the injuries towards Christ, and as defence of his rights and inheritance.

We have also seen an intensification of the spirituality of the bulls during the period and especially after the loss of Jerusalem. The theme of defence became centred on the person of Christ already in the bulls of Alexander III, where it appears that the indulgences were granted for the labour and service that the crusaders rendered to Christ himself and not to the Church, but this was given a new fervour with the bulls of Gregory VIII in 1187. In these, *imitatio Christi* as self-castigation was reintroduced in papal crusading rhetoric, and it is apparent that the point of the crusade is to imitate the example of Christ, who gave his life for man. In Gregory's *Cum divina patientia* and in the bulls of Innocent III for the Fourth Crusade, the lesson of this example is even given

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<sup>151</sup> Riley-Smith 2005, pp. 133–4.

the sense that man has the duty to repay Christ for salvation by giving his life for him. Previously, the crusaders were described as earning merit by putting their lives at risk for the cause, and death was only a possibility; now it became an obligation and a prerequisite for obtaining merit. Perhaps the shock and sorrow from the loss of Jerusalem can explain why the popes found this theme fitting – and, indeed, why they might have expected the warriors to live up to such an obligation.

At the same time, the intensification of the personal relationship of the crusader to Christ also meant that the spiritual goal became detached from the military, and in the situation after the loss of Jerusalem this was an important point. When the suffering on the crusade in imitation of Christ's passion became the point itself, merit could be earned regardless of the success or failure of the expeditions. The crusade was a testing ground of faith, and this point was accentuated by the use of the *tempus acceptabile* motive, which was linked to crusading theology by Bernard of Clairvaux, and which unfolded itself in the papal bulls also from 1187. According to this idea, the crusaders earned merit because the crusade was a jubilee, which was a time for penance as well as a time of special grace, in which God invited men to prove themselves worthy in his service.

The crusade was also addressed as a service to Christ by using feudal terminology, especially in the later part of the period, when the personal relationship of the crusader to Christ was emphasised. The use of this terminology may be seen as stemming from a wish to approach the laity and the knights in a vocabulary that was familiar to them. In the same way, the theologians William of Auvergne and Jacques de Vitry used feudal concepts to explain how the crusader earned spiritual reward in their more "popular" writings. Apart from this, the theologians most often stressed the penitential aspects and the fact that the crusaders risked their lives for Christ as the reasons for merit, and in doing so they were not differing from the message of the bulls.

At one point the theologians did divert from the bulls, however, and this was on the point of martyrdom, where they appear less cautious than the bulls. It is striking that the bulls never promise the reward of martyrdom to crusaders. They do not even mention martyrdom, except for *Quia maior* by Innocent III, cited above, which says that much good has come from the crusade, because many have delivered themselves up to the service of Christ "and have won a crown of glory as if they had suffered the agony of martyrdom," *et quasi per agonem martyrii coronam gloriae sunt adepti*.<sup>152</sup> The *quasi*, as if, is of course important here. It means that the pope was not making an official statement

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152 PL 216: 817.



that they had indeed become martyrs. It is also important that it is stated in the past tense and after the fact, and not as a direct promise in an exhortation. On the other hand, we have seen that the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales justified the reward to crusaders exactly by pointing out that they won the crown of martyrdom. Explaining the reward theoretically in a theological tract and promising it to certain individuals in a papal bull were of course two very different things. Still, the popes of this period seem to have been just as cautious not to promise martyrdom as their predecessors in the period before the crusades, as observed in chapter 2.2. The crusaders were not even admonished to emulate the examples of the martyrs; instead they were told to follow those of the Maccabees, and above all that of Christ. Presumably, the decision about martyr status for a given person was still believed to be for God to make. The concept of martyrdom also invoked the prospect of death, of course, but this does not otherwise seem to have bothered, for instance, Gregory VIII and Innocent III. The reward of martyrdom was, however, not very flexible and could not be granted in different degrees and for both dead and surviving crusaders, as the indulgences could. Nonetheless, we have seen earlier that Jacques de Vitry used the concept of martyrdom quite directly in a sermon, where he declared that crusaders were considered true martyrs if they died in the service of Christ, and in the next chapter we shall see that this was not unusual in the sermons.

## Proclaiming the Message

The themes and arguments for taking the cross that were found in the papal bulls were communicated to the people by way of the sermons preached in order to recruit men and gather means for the crusades. Sermons were an obvious medium for proclamation of the spiritual rewards that could be gained. From the thirteenth century, a fair number of sermons and model sermons for the crusades have been preserved, and previous studies have shown that the indulgences played a central role in these.<sup>1</sup> With regard to the twelfth-century sermons the evidence is more scant, but the reports of sermons that we do have allow for making a comparison with the message of the papal bulls.

Sermons were an important element in the campaigns to launch a new crusade, and the popes seem to have taken care to appoint skilled preachers, and to control the organization by naming legates for the purpose. As with the other institutions of the crusade, the organization developed substantially in the course of the twelfth century. For the First Crusade, Urban II himself travelled widely in the South and West of France in 1095–96 in order to preach and organise his crusade.<sup>2</sup> In other areas it was undertaken by the bishops who had taken part in the council at Clermont, and by wandering evangelists such as Peter the Hermit, whose message was very different from that of Urban II, and whose recruitment of the poor was quite out of the control of the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>3</sup> None of the later popes are known to have made preaching campaigns on the same scale as Urban II themselves. For the Second Crusade, Eugenius III preached on some occasions in France,<sup>4</sup> but otherwise he commissioned Bernard of Clairvaux to do the job, together with a number of unnamed preachers.<sup>5</sup> Also the other great French abbot at the time, Peter the Venerable of Cluny (c. 1092–1156), embraced the cause of this crusade,<sup>6</sup> and he composed a sermon on it which has actually been preserved – in contrast to Bernard's –

1 Paulus II pp. 52–60; Cramer pp. 186, 190–1; Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology* (2000), pp. 62–3 and passim.

2 See Alfons Becker, “Le voyage d’Urbain II en France” in *Le concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la croisade* (1997), pp. 127–40.

3 Mayer 1996, p. 39, Cole 1991, pp. 33–6.

4 Constable 1953, p. 263.

5 Cole 1991, p. 46–7.

6 Cole 1991, p. 49ff; Virginia Berry, “Peter the Venerable and the Crusades” in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death*, ed.

and the same is the case with a sermon by Bishop Peter of Oporto, who preached to gather support for the siege of Lisbon.<sup>7</sup> Evidence suggests that papal legates were also sent to invite the kings and peoples of the remoter parts of Christendom. Thus, a Cardinal Hubaldus was received at the court of the Danish king Erik Lam in 1146.<sup>8</sup>

The evidence for crusade preaching during the pontificate of Alexander III is very sporadic despite the repeated attempts to initiate crusades in this period. In 1181, however, Alexander instructed all prelates of the Church that his bull, *Cor nostrum*, should be read aloud, and that the necessity of the Eastern Land should be preached often and carefully to princes, dukes, and all other parishioners in order for them to take up the fight for this land, which had been liberated by the spilling of the blood of their ancestors. It was pointed out that the indulgence that was granted for this purpose should be explained and announced. In addition, Alexander declared that devoted preachers could expect an eternal reward themselves.<sup>9</sup>

The preaching of the Third Crusade was characterised by the grand campaigns of individual preachers, much in the manner of the Second Crusade. Again, the Cistercians were fairly well represented, as in Henry of Albano, Garnerius of Clairvaux, who took over for Henry when he died in January 1189, Baldwin of Ford, archbishop of Canterbury, who toured in Wales, and Gerhard, archbishop of Ravenna, who gathered an army of crusaders in Northern Italy.<sup>10</sup> The principal preachers each appointed sub-delegates and co-preachers. Cardinal Henry sent envoys to Germany who preached before he arrived himself. Since he did not speak German, he preached through interpreters,<sup>11</sup> but it appears that he was assisted by the local bishops Gotfried of Würzburg and Henry of Strassbourg, apparently more or less on their own initiative.<sup>12</sup> Once again, envoys directly from the papal see were received at the royal court in Denmark, according to *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, which also

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Giles Constable and James Kritzeck (1956), pp. 141–62; text ed. in Giles Constable: “Petri Venerabilis sermones tres” in *Revue Benedictine* 64 (1954), pp. 224–72.

7 Cramer pp. 55ff.

8 Janus Møller Jensen: “Danmark og den hellige krig. En undersøgelse af korstogsbevægelsens indflydelse på Danmark ca. 1070–1169” in *Historisk Tidsskrift* 100: 2 (2000), pp. 309–10.

9 PL 200: 1296–7; cf. Cramer p. 68.

10 Cf. Cole 1991, pp. 71–8; Cramer p. 66. On the preaching of the Third Crusade see also Christopher Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades* (2007), pp. 375–89.

11 Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* in A. Chroust, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs I* (1928), p. 10.

12 Cf. Cramer pp. 64, 88–92.

relates that from here the word of the cross was spread abroad to the common people in public places and preached in the churches.<sup>13</sup>

In 1198, Innocent III tried to optimise the campaigns by a combined strategy of appointed legates and preachers for specific areas, and of diocesan preaching, for which he held the local bishops responsible. In theory, this would have ensured that the word of the cross was spread to all corners of Christendom, and that it was not impeded by language barriers. However, this strategy did not prove satisfactory, among other reasons because the popular preachers Innocent relied on tended to distort the message and use it for their own favourite causes.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, for the Fifth Crusade Pope Innocent took even greater control of the preaching by naming a local cleric responsible for each province. The list can be gathered from the letter *Pium et sanctum*, which supplemented *Quia maior*, and which is addressed to nearly 40 individual preachers. Many of these can be identified as learned theologians and skilled preachers who had a connection to the Chanter circle in Paris or who had already proved their zeal for the crusading movement. Among these are Robert of Courson, Master Oliver of Cologne, Archdeacon Walter of London, and Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund.<sup>15</sup> *Pium et sanctum* gave guidelines for the preachers, both on the central message of their sermons, which they were to study in *Quia maior*, and on their conduct. They were to avoid all reproaches of extravagance by behaving modestly, not to accept gifts, and to limit their entourages of servants and horses to a fixed number, in order that their exterior actions demonstrated that they carried the *stigmata* of Christ upon their hearts.<sup>16</sup>

By this time and by appointing these individuals, Pope Innocent III could also take advantage of the growing interest in popular preaching among the Paris theologians, which resulted in the better education of preachers, and in the writing of manuals to help them in composing sermons for any audience.<sup>17</sup> This development was continued at the later crusades in the thirteenth

13 *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, ed. Gertz pp. 464, 467–8.

14 Cole 1991, pp. 82–97.

15 PL 216: 822–3.

16 PL 216: 822. In the same series of letters, the pope stated that the entourages were to follow the numbers laid down by the Third Lateran Council. (DD 1: 5 no. 32; cf. Third Lateran c. 4, ed. Alberigo p. 189). Archbishop Anders Sunesen of Lund was allowed to bring 20 horses, even though the Third Lateran allowed archbishops 40–50 and bishops 20–30 (PL 216: 823, cf. DD 1: 5 no. 31). However, the Danish archbishop complained to the pope that it would be impossible to carry out the campaign with less than 30 horses, and he was later allowed to bring this number, cf. PL 216: 965; DD 1: 5 no. 41.

17 See Cole 1991, pp. 112–41.

century, when the preaching was placed in the hands of Dominicans and Franciscans who were well trained in the art of preaching, and with the composition of the preaching manual *De predicatione S. crucis* of Humbert of Romans from around 1266.<sup>18</sup>

The decrees of *Quia maior* also made provisions for a proper framework for the crusade sermons to be given in. It decreed that general processions should be held every month all over Christendom to pray for the mercy of God over the Holy Land, and to support the crusade sermons, which were to be preached diligently to the people at these occasions. The cause of the crusade was also to be invoked in the daily liturgy of the mass. *Quia maior* decreed that every time the mass was celebrated, the Psalm 78 (79):1, “Oh God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance” was to be sung by the clergy after the kiss of peace, while the whole congregation, men and women alike, were to “humbly prostrate themselves on the ground”. At the end of this psalm, the celebrating priest was to say a special prayer for the delivery of the Holy Land.<sup>19</sup>

## 6.1 Preachers and Sermons

All in all, we have evidence of the content matter of crusade sermons of around ten different preachers within our period. Some of this evidence consists only of brief reports in chronicles or letters, but it is enough to show that the sermons used some of the same themes as were recurrent in the papal bulls: the imitation and service of Christ, the duty towards him, the use of feudal concepts and allusions to honour, and the crusade as a test and as penance. Also the spiritual rewards were pointed out and, especially at the latter end of our period, some preachers apparently tried to explain the indulgences and to make them comprehensible to a lay audience.

The earliest evidence – apart from the reports of the sermon of Urban II – comes from Bernard of Clairvaux. His fame as a crusade preacher probably owes much to the stories of his preaching at Vézelay at Easter 1146 at the court of the French king. Practically nothing is known about the contents of this sermon, but the response to it is reported to have been so overwhelming that Bernard had to tear up his own garments to provide crosses for the converted

18 See Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades. Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (1994).

19 PL 216: 820–1.

crowd.<sup>20</sup> After this start, Bernard continued to preach successfully in a campaign encompassing France, the Low Countries, and Germany.<sup>21</sup> None of his sermons for the crusade are extant, but we are able to gather an idea of his message and his beliefs from the letters he sent out to princes and peoples all over Europe to encourage their participation in the crusade. There is evidence that some of these letters were intended to be read publicly as sermons,<sup>22</sup> and in their rhetoric and content matter they do appear as plausible crusade sermons. In a language well suited for the feudal nobility, Bernard is urging his audience to consider that their “Lord of heaven is losing his land” and to “restore to him his heritage”, and he is admonishing them: “Let those of you who are loyal to him arise and defend their Lord against the shame of such imputation.”<sup>23</sup> Bernard was clearly concerned to present the crusade as an advantageous opportunity, and therefore he was also appealing directly to the business sense of his audience:

If you are a wise merchant, if you understand how to do business in this world, I am showing you certain great markets; make sure not to let them pass you by. Take the sign of the cross and you will obtain remission of all the sins which you have confessed with a contrite heart. This cloth itself does not cost much if it is bought, but if it is put faithfully on the shoulder it is certain to be worth the kingdom of God.<sup>24</sup>

The crusade indulgence is presented as a bargain – “The cost is small, the reward is great”, as the version sent to the English people apparently has it<sup>25</sup> – but Bernard also stated the formal conditions for obtaining the indulgence: *confessio* and *contritio* on the part of the sinner. In the version addressed to the

20 Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia G. Berry (Columbia, 1948), p. 8; J. Phillips 2007, pp. 66–8, Cole 1991, pp. 42–3.

21 On this preaching tour see J. Phillips 2007, pp. 80–98.

22 Cole 1991, p. 47. On the diffusion of the letters see Jean Leclercq, ‘L’encyclique de Saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade’ *Revue Bénédictine* 81:3–4 (1971), 282–308.

23 “Quis in vobis est fidelis eius, surgat, defendat Dominum suum ab impositae perditionis infamia.” Ep. 458, ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 287. Cf. ep. 363, ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 296.

24 “Si prudens mercator es, si conquisitor huius saeculi, magnas quasdam tibi nundias indico, vide ne te praetereant. Suscipe Crucis signum, et omnium pariter, de quibus corde contritio confessionem feceris, indulgentiam obtinebis delictorum. Materia ipsa si emitur, parvi constat; si devote assumitur humero, valet sine dubio regnum Dei.” Ep. 363, ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 298.

25 Cf. B.S. James ed. p. 462.

Duke of Bohemia he even referred to the powers of the keys of the pope as the warranty of this plenary indulgence.<sup>26</sup>

The opportunity to take the cross and to gain this indulgence constitutes the *tempus acceptabile*, which we have already looked at. The cross is also a sign of salvation, and the battle for Christ is presented as a safe battle in opposition to the wars against fellow Christians. The usual internal wars are not displays of strength or courage, but of insanity and madness, because in these the knight is risking both body and soul: "But now, mighty soldier and man of war, you have a battle you can fight without danger to your soul, in which to win will be glorious and to die will be gain."<sup>27</sup> The knights are urged to stop shedding Christian blood and instead arm themselves for the fight for the Christian name.<sup>28</sup>

These letters of Bernard of Clairvaux do not lead us to believe that Bernard preached the crusade as an *imitatio Christi* in its self-castigating aspects.<sup>29</sup> The knights are asked to serve Christ as Christian soldiers, not to suffer for him or to renounce everything. In the letter for Bohemia they are, however, in accordance with the papal bull *Quantum praedecessores*, instructed not to wear any silk, fur, or gold and silver harness, except in battle to scare the enemy.<sup>30</sup> The purpose of these prohibitions was clearly to give the army a more humble and penitential character, and they resemble the rules Bernard set up for the Templars in *De laude novae militiae*.<sup>31</sup>

Peter the Venerable has left us a sermon for the occasion of the crusade, the *De laude Dominici Sepulchri*. It is, however, contested if this was actually preached to crusaders. Virginia Berry has found it likely that it was delivered at

26 "Suscipite signum crucis, et omnium, de quibus corde contritio confessionem feceritis, plenam indulgentiam delictorum hanc vobis Summus Pontifex offert, vicarius eius cui dictum est: Quodcumque solveris super terra, erit solutum et in caelo." Ep. 458 ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 287.

27 "Habes nunc, fortis miles, habes, vir bellicose, ubi dimices absque periculo, ubi et vincere gloria, et mori lucrum." Ep. 363 ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 298; cf. ep. 458 ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 287: "Securum conflictum ineat, ubi sit et vincere gloria, et mori lucrum." Cf. *De laude novae militiae* I, 1, eds. Leclercq & Rohais, p. 214: "Quid enim vel vivens, vel moriens metuat, cui vivere Christus est, et mori lucrum?" Cf. Phil. 1: 21.

28 This appeal to stop the internal wars and direct the skills of the knights against the enemies of Christendom is reminiscent of the sermon of Urban II in the chronicles of the First Crusade. Cf. Robert in RHC Oc. III p. 728.

29 On Bernard's omission of the *imitatio Christi* theme in relation to crusaders, see now Purkis pp. 87–111.

30 Ep. 458 ed. Leclercq 1971, p. 287.

31 Cf. *De laude novae militiae* IV, 7, p. 220.

a council in Paris celebrated by Pope Eugenius III between April and June 1147 for the preparation of the crusade. The audience here would have comprised both ecclesiastics and laity who had already taken the cross.<sup>32</sup> Giles Constable, on the other hand, has found that the sermon was addressed to monks and that it is a representative of a type of sermon “that aroused enthusiasm for the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre and that influenced the religious and intellectual attitudes upon which the crusades were based”, though not, strictly speaking, itself a crusading sermon.<sup>33</sup> However, the thesis that it was composed for monks alone does not seem entirely satisfactory, since Peter the Venerable otherwise appears to have agreed with the common prohibition against monks going on crusade.<sup>34</sup> The sermon is relatively long – 23 densely printed pages in Constable’s edition – and it appears less inclined to speak the language of the knights than Bernard of Clairvaux in his letters. It appears more “academic” and less exhortative in the sense that it presents a long argument as to why it is necessary to defend the Holy Sepulchre. The Sepulchre is the most central, holy and glorious place, more sacred than the places of Christ’s conception, birth, appearance, or representation, because his works only initiated the salvation of man, while only by his death was man perfected.<sup>35</sup> This is the spring of human salvation, and to this man should now return as Christ is calling the peoples of the world to his tomb. Here he will receive them, justify them, and save them.<sup>36</sup>

The arguments Peter uses to underpin the salvific character of the crusade resemble the ones that we found in the bulls, and yet they are styled somewhat differently. The theme of *imitatio* is used, but first of all it is the sepulchre that is to be imitated, not Christ himself: the audience is admonished to receive Christ within themselves as the Sepulchre had done. They are to be “living graves” for him, and after having been this they will not die, but will be reformed to eternal resurrection and be immortal with Christ.<sup>37</sup> The theme of paying back is also invoked, and Peter asks, “what will you pay back the Lord for all that he is paying back for you?”<sup>38</sup> Man has an obligation to try to pay back Christ, and he can do so by imitating his passion and going on crusade. Peter, however, makes it clear that man is not capable of doing for Christ what

32 Berry 1956 pp. 152–3; this view was followed by Cole 1991, pp. 49–50; J. Phillips 2007, p. 125.

33 Constable 1954, pp. 228–9.

34 Berry 1956, pp. 145, 153; Constable has found this puzzling as well, see Constable 1954, p. 229, and 1953 p. 269 n. 290.

35 *De laude Dominici Sepulchri*, ed. Constable 1954, p. 250.

36 Ibid. p. 246.

37 Ibid. pp. 243–4.

38 “quid retribuēs Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit tibi?” Ibid. p. 242.



Christ did for man. Of the participants in the First Crusade he says that, "In offering your souls for the Sepulchre of your Saviour, in sacrificing your bodies, you did not pay back anything worthy at all of equalling the very gifts bestowed on you by him, but you indicated that you wished to."<sup>39</sup> Thus, the idea of paying back Christ by going on crusade was uttered by Peter the Venerable in a theologically "correct" form, long before it was used in the papal bulls. It is not unreasonable to assume that it was absorbed in a general stock of crusading themes, and that at the time of the Third Crusade, it entered the bulls in an "abbreviated" form, which could be problematic because it left out the important reservation that man is not able to pay back his redeemer, even if he is obliged to try to.

The deeds of the first crusaders, who were Gauls, Germans, "Daci et Norici",<sup>40</sup> are mentioned, as in the contemporary bulls of Eugenius III, but not so much in order to exhort prospects to honour their forefathers by joining a new crusade, as to underpin the sacredness of the Sepulchre; the sacrifice of the first crusaders is another proof that the Sepulchre is more glorious than any other place. The last part of the sermon is addressed to God as a prayer, and not to the audience, and this adds to the less exhortative character of the sermon. It concludes with the petition that God as the king and Lord of Heaven grant the heavenly kingdom to those who venerate the Sepulchre, and that "Thou who has been made the way for those who are pressing forward in this pilgrimage towards their native land, because of the humility of the flesh which Thou put on, appear to them through the majesty of divine power as truth and life eternal."<sup>41</sup>

Other evidence of the preaching of the Second Crusade is two sermons inserted in the tract *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, probably written by a Norman-French priest, Raol, who took part in the siege and capture of Lisbon in 1147.<sup>42</sup> Both are field sermons given to crusaders while on campaign; the first by

39 Ibid. p. 247; translation from Berry 1956 p. 144.

40 "Quid aliud uos, o Galli Gemanique populi, quid aliud uos Daci et Norici, barbarie uirtuteque feroces, quorum alii terreno, alii marino itinere sacrum locum bellicis sudoribus, fuso cruore, sed praeclara uictoria a jugo Persarum et Arabum eruistis; quid aliud, inquam, mercedis pro tantis laboribus sustinuitis?" *De laude Domini Sepulchri* p. 246. The "Daci et Norici" might refer to Balkan peoples, but since they are called barbarians and travelled by sea might we not assume that they were Danes and Norwegians? We know that Peter was aware of the Norwegian expedition to the Holy Land in 1107 as he complimented King Sigurd for it in a letter in 1130; see PL 189: 196–7; cf. Berry 1956, p. 144.

41 Ibid. p. 254; cf. translation in Berry 1956, p. 154.

42 *De expugnatione Lyxbonensis. The Conquest of Lisbon*, ed. Charles Wendell David, with a new foreword by Jonathan Phillips (2001). On the author cf. J. Phillips' foreword p. xxi and

Bishop Peter of Oporto in order to greet a fleet of crusaders from England and the Low Countries when they arrived in Oporto; the second was given a few days before the final charge by a priest who is not named in the chronicle, but may well have been the author Raol himself.<sup>43</sup> It has previously been assumed that these crusaders, who were on their way to the Holy Land, only stopped and made a detour to Lisbon because they were persuaded by the envoys of King Afonso Henriques of Portugal, but it has recently been demonstrated that their participation in this battle had in fact been prearranged.<sup>44</sup>

In his sermon, Bishop Peter of Oporto used several of the themes we have encountered above, first of all the theme of renunciation and *imitatio*. He praises the crusaders for having left everything behind in order to follow Christ. They are doing what he did by going out of their camp, bearing the cross of reproach (cf. Heb. 13:13).<sup>45</sup> The crusade is considered a penance and an opportunity for spiritual rebirth for the sinners: "Verily, most beloved sons, reborn by the new baptism of penance, you have put on Christ once more."<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the crusaders are admonished not to fall back into sin, not to let envy drive them to either looting the lands they are travelling through, or to discord with their fellows. They should also show moderation in food so that they do not give in to gluttony, but eat only what is necessary for their performance of good works. Then, Peter of Oporto turns to the situation in Portugal for which he requests their help. Towns and churches are in ruins, devastated by the Moor. For this reason their mother, the Church, is crying out to them, requiring them to avenge the blood of her sons.<sup>47</sup> The crusaders should not worry that this would detain their journey to Jerusalem, the bishop says, paraphrasing a quote from St. Jerome, that the laudable thing is not to have been in Jerusalem but to have lived well in the meantime. The good works they performed in Portugal would earn them merit and salvation just as well as in the Holy Land. The bishop then adduces arguments from Ambrose, Isidor, Augustine, and Chrysostomus to prove that it was the right thing to stay and repel the injuries (*repellit injuriam, injuriam propulsate*) against their brothers here, and that the fight

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David's introduction pp. 40–6. Cf. also Cramer pp. 55–62. On the Lisbon campaign see Phillips 2007, pp. 136–67.

43 Phillips, Foreword to *De expugnatione Lyxbonensis* p. xxii; David, Introduction p. 41.

44 Phillips, Foreword pp. xviii–xx, Phillips 2007, pp. 139–45, 149.

45 "Ecce, fratres carissimi, crucis improperium portantes, extra castra eiistis". Ed. David p. 72.

46 "Ecce filii carissimi, novo poenitentiae renati baptismate! Christum induistis iterum." Ibid. p. 72.

47 "Ad vos autem mater ecclesia, jam quasi truncis brachiis et deformi facie clamat, sanguinem filiorum et vindictam per manus vestris requirit. Clamat! certe clamat! Vindictam facite in nationibus, increpationes in populis." Ibid. p. 78.

against the Moor was a just war. The crusaders should not fear that their actions here would be counted as murder or any other crime, because this was a just cause.

“For a war is just,” says our Isidore, “which is waged after a declaration, to recover property or to repulse enemies”; and since it is just to punish murderers and sacrilegious men and poisoners, the shedding of their blood is not murder. Likewise he is not cruel who slays the cruel. And he who puts wicked men to death is a servant of the Lord, for the reason that they are wicked and there is ground for killing them.<sup>48</sup>

This represents a neat summary of contemporary views of theologians and canonists, such as found in Gratian and others.<sup>49</sup> Providing that the report of the sermon is reliable on this point, it is interesting that the bishop thought it fit for this occasion and for a lay audience to support his words with quotations from authorities. The quotations may of course have been inserted by the author, who appears to have been a well-educated man,<sup>50</sup> but it is also interesting that the sermon addresses the possibility that killing in this war might be murder, because this means that the question must have come up in this connection, even if it is now impossible to determine if the argument was a response to a concern expressed by the crusaders, by the ecclesiastics at the time, or perhaps by the conscience of the bishop or the author himself. After adding examples from the Bible, however, the bishop concludes that “it is not a sin to be a soldier, but it is a sin to be a soldier for booty.”<sup>51</sup>

He does not show the same concern with regard to explaining the indulgence to his audience. Instead, the sermon refers to a more general concept of spiritual reward and mentions the merit which the crusaders will earn and the “eternal reward which will be granted by God.”<sup>52</sup> In the conclusion of the

48 “‘Justum vero bellum,’ sic Ysidorus noster, ‘quod ex indicto geritur, de rebus repetendis, aut hostium pulsandorum causa’; et quia justa est causa homicidas et sacrilegos et venenarios punire, non est effusio sanguinis homicidii. Et item non est crudelis qui crudeles perimit. Vel qui malos perimit, in eo quod mali sunt et habet causam interfectionis, minister est Domini.” Ed. David p. 80/81.

49 Ernst-Dieter Hehl has demonstrated that the bishop’s source was probably the earlier canonical collection, *Panormia*, by Ivo of Chartres, cf. *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert*, 1980, pp. 259–61.

50 J. Phillips 2007 p. 136.

51 “quia non est peccatum militare, sed propter praedam peccatum est militare.” Ibid. p. 82.

52 “ut aeternum a Deo consequerentur praemium, felici peregrinatione commutasse.” Ibid. 70, 78.

sermon, the bishop is not referring to spiritual rewards at all but to a pecuniary payment granted by the king to those who fought for him at Lisbon. The reason may have been that Bishop Peter could not have promised these crusaders a greater indulgence than the one they had already been granted for their expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>53</sup> It may also have been that the bishop was realizing that his request might be seen as a violation of the original crusading vows of his audience, who would be prevented from fulfilling them if they died in the battle for Lisbon, and the long argument about the justness of the cause of Portugal could be interpreted as meant to refute such a criticism.<sup>54</sup> However, since recent research has established that their participation in this campaign was not a spontaneous event, these arguments lose much of their weight. The reason why the indulgences were not mentioned by Bishop Peter might simply be that they were primarily granted as an incentive to make people go, and that the audience here were people who had already taken the vow and set out on the journey.

The “certain” priest, probably Raol himself, who gave a sermon a few days before the final charge, also used well-known themes.<sup>55</sup> Like Bishop Peter he also adjusted them to the situation: that he was preaching to men who had already taken the cross and who were now about to engage in battle. The sermon is interesting because it gives an impression of what was preached to crusaders in the field. The main message is about conversion and penitence, and the crusaders are admonished to reconcile themselves to God. However, the preacher also adduces points of the theology of the redemption; the Moors are taunting the Christians with the question of why God had to become man and suffer at the hands of sinners in order to save man. The answer is that God could indeed have saved man in some other way, but in this way, by enduring human suffering, his example became the medicine that heals all sins.<sup>56</sup> The sufferings of the crusaders are then linked to the example of Christ, whom they have followed voluntarily, leaving their kin and possessions behind. They are admon-

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53 Cramer p. 59 stated that it was impossible for Peter of Oporto to promise these crusaders any crusade indulgence for the war against the Moor. As we have seen, however, newer crusade scholarship has established that the campaigns on the Iberian peninsula were regarded as proper crusades, and that crusade indulgences were granted for them. It seems to appear from Eugenius III's *Divini dispensatione* that the battle for Lisbon would have been included in the crusading privileges issued for the Second Crusade (ed. in *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* I, p. 37; PL 180: 1203).

54 Cramer pp. 56, 59.

55 *De expugnatione Lyxbonensis*, ed. David pp. 146–59. Cf. Cramer pp. 60–2, J. Philips 2007, p. 161.

56 Ed. David pp. 150–2.

ished to hold on to this good resolution, and to repent their sins. God is working a miracle in them, by which they are cleansed in the baptism of a new penance. This concern for the spiritual state of the crusaders was of course natural for a pastor facing people who might soon meet their death, but the priest gives another reason: that God hears the prayers of the penitent and grants them the victory. The crusaders should not fear, because God had led them here, and the reason why he had not let them conquer the city yet was that he was testing their patience.<sup>57</sup>

While giving the sermon, the preacher was holding a relic of the true cross in his hand, and in the last part of his address he called on the crusaders to venerate the cross and Christ who died on it, "expanding his arms and feet to your salvation and glory; in this sign, if only you falter not, you shall be victorious."<sup>58</sup> To this, the preacher added what sounds very similar to St. Bernard: "Because if it should happen that anyone signed with this cross should die, we do not believe that life has been taken from him, for we have no doubt that he is changed into something better. Here, therefore, to live is glory and to die is gain (Phil. 1:21)."<sup>59</sup> This sermon does not mention the indulgences either, but exhorts the crusaders to enter battle, "being actually certain of victory, fall upon the enemy, the rewards of victory over whom are eternal glory."<sup>60</sup> The sermon is ended by a praise of the glory of God and eternal life. The chronicler adds that the whole audience was so touched by these words that they broke down in tears, and that after the sermon the crusaders were blessed and signed with the relic of the cross. From other sources we know that crusaders gave confession and took communion before the battle, and thus entered into it ready to meet their maker.<sup>61</sup>

The sermons of the most famous preachers of the Third Crusade, Henry of Albano and Baldwin of Canterbury, have not been handed down, but from this campaign we have evidence that the papal bull was used directly in sermons. It is likely that Henry of Albano read *Audita tremendi* aloud before his sermon

57 Ed. David p. 154.

58 "Adorate Dominum Christum, Qui in hoc salutiferae crucis ligno manus expandit et pedes in vestram salutem et gloriam; in hoc vexillo, solum non haesitatis, vincetis." Ibid. pp. 154–6. A reference to the vision of Emperor Constantine, *in hoc signo vinces*, seems obvious, and according to David the knowledge of this vision was beginning to emerge in the West at the time of the Second Crusade, (cf. note 1 pp. 156–7).

59 Cf. Bernard ep. 363 and 458 ed. Leclercq pp. 298, 287; *De laude novae militiae* p. 214.

60 Ed. David p. 157.

61 E.g. *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust p. 164.

at the council of Frederick Barbarossa at Mainz on 27 March 1188.<sup>62</sup> As already noted above, there are a number of similarities between Gregory's bull and Henry's *De peregrinante civitate Dei*. They both use the *tempus acceptabile* motive, for instance, and it is likely that Henry would have used it in his sermons as well. We may also compare them with a letter sent by Henry to the German princes and prelates, summoning them to the council in Mainz in which he also used some of the same themes.<sup>63</sup> Here, the *tempus acceptabile* is a time in which the *milites Christi* avenge the injuries against the holy cross. Both these texts by Henry of Albano also use the theme of tears and cries – the letter recalls the cries of the Master himself as he hung on the cross, a scene which points forward to the bulls of Innocent III. The letter points backwards to Bernard of Clairvaux as well. It uses the wordplay *malitia* – *militia* from Bernard's *De laude novae militiae* and crusading letters to distinguish between the bad knights who murder and plunder and the good knights who serve Christ, and Henry combines it with Bernard's point that in this battle victory is glory, but to die is gain.<sup>64</sup>

Another likely theme in Henry's sermons is the *imitatio Christi*, which runs all through his *De peregrinante* in both the aspects of service and self-castigation. When Christ sacrificed himself for men he imposed on men a duty to love him and to sacrifice themselves for him. Now, after the capture of Jerusalem, it

62 Cramer p. 64. Cole, who apparently has not read Cramer, asserts on the other hand that Cardinal Henry did not preach at all at Mainz, on the grounds that Henry did not mention himself as a preacher on this occasion (*De peregrinante*, PL 204: 357), and that he did not speak German (Cole 1991, p. 67). However, Henry does not give much detail of the council in Mainz at all. Moreover, it does not seem likely that he would be silent at the council that he had prompted with enthusiasm, and that he would let himself be restrained by ignorance of the German language. The *Historia de expeditione Friderici* actually claims that he preached with interpreters in Germany and thus prepared many for the crusade (ed. Chroust p. 10). This chronicle does not mention the preachers at Mainz, however, and the *Historia peregrinorum* only mentions Gotfried of Würzburg (ed. Chroust p. 125), but it appears that the latter is prone to accentuating the local, German preachers in preference to the foreign ones.

63 Printed in A. Chroust, ed. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* n.s. tom. V, 1928 pp. 11–2; also in PL 204: 249–51. Cf. Cramer pp. 73–7; Cole 1991, p. 68.

64 “Malitia fuit, non militia, quod hactenus christianorum caedibus et rapinis et execabilibus tornamentis intenti ignem inexstinguibilem et immortalium cruciatuum vermium meruerunt. Felix eis abest militia, in qua et vincere gloria, et multo magis mori lucrum.” Ed. Chroust p. 12. Cf. Bernard of Clairvaux: *De laude novae militiae* II, 3, and I, 1, eds. Leclercq & Rochais, pp. 216 and 214. Cf. also letter 363, ed. Leclercq 1971, pp. 297–8.

seems as if Christ is being crucified once again.<sup>65</sup> The capture, however, also signals the *tempus acceptabile*, in which men can prove themselves in the service of the heavenly king, to whom they should be even more faithful than to their earthly king, whom they would follow in death.<sup>66</sup> The wrath of God has given Jerusalem over to the enemy, but his misery is providing a chance for men to do penance. He has worked salvation in the middle of the Earth, and the sinners hasten to confession, penance, and satisfaction. They are not content with doing ordinary penance, and they gather from everywhere to perfect themselves, carrying their cross and leaving everything behind to follow Christ.<sup>67</sup> The crusade is thus described as a special penance. Henry does not mention the indulgences, but he indicates that those who go on crusade are martyrs. However, it is not that he promises martyrdom; rather he asserts that this is a special time of reformation in the Church in which the scandalous become chaste, the ferocious become mild, and martyrs are made out of tyrants. Are those not true martyrs, Henry asks, who do not think of themselves or the dangers of the journey, but whose highest concern is to fight the enemies of Christ? Such people “aspire no less to the crown of justice if they die, than to the palms of victory if they win.”<sup>68</sup>

In this tract, Henry of Albano also encouraged his fellow Cistercians to preach the cross, and to help end the dissension between the English and the French, which kept them from fulfilling their vows.<sup>69</sup> The Cistercians who complied with this request would have had a valuable source of material for sermons in this tract.

Bishop Henry of Strassbourg appears to have used *Audita tremendi* as well. He gave a sermon at a council of Frederick Barbarossa in Strassbourg in December 1187, and the outline of it, which is handed down in the anonymous chronicle *Historia peregrinorum*, has similarities both with the papal bull and with the writings of Henry of Albano.<sup>70</sup> These similarities may of course owe less to the bishop himself than to the anonymous author, who may have glanced at copies of the letters of the pope and cardinal when he wrote his account, and the report should probably be taken *cum granis salis*. On the other

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65 PL 204: 354.

66 PL 204: 355.

67 PL 204: 356–7.

68 “non minus ad coronam iustitiae, si occubuerint, quam ad palmam victoriae, si superaverint, aspirantes.” PL 204: 358.

69 PL 204: 359–60.

70 Ed. by Chroust pp. 123–4.

hand, it can also be seen as an example of how a papal bull could be turned into a sermon *ad status* for the knights, as Cramer advocates.<sup>71</sup>

According to the chronicle, the council of Strassbourg was opened by the sermons of the envoys of Henry of Albano, who had very little success: among all the warriors listening to them, only one took the cross. Then Bishop Henry began to speak, taunting the knights who were otherwise famous for their courage and skills in battle, for not taking up this urgent cause of God, and for not being moved by this injury to their saviour. Their duty and allegiance to God is compared to that held towards their secular lord. If their secular lord lost his land, certainly they would be reproached if they did not take up arms for him. Then is it not even more reproachable not to take up arms for Christ, who is our head, and from whom we have received our life and possessions? Like *Audita tremendi*, the bishop then points out the duty of all Christians to mourn over the misfortune of Jerusalem, and presents the crusade as a test. God is now testing his friends and is inviting them to render him help (*auxilium*), he who worked out their salvation in the middle of the Earth by his death on the cross. The Holy Land is the heritage of the Lord, the place where his feet has stood. The fate of the holy city of Jerusalem, the mother of their faith, ought to strike them in their hearts and incite them to revenge (*incitet ad vindictam*). The bishop concludes by pointing out the favourable reward for this military service, that God has promised the remission of sins: "Bear in mind, excellent warriors, what a fortunate, what a favourable and excellent way to go to war, what a fruitful labour, the reward of which is the remission of sins, which the reverend Lord is promising and pointing out to his pilgrims."<sup>72</sup> According to the *Historia peregrinorum*, this sermon had the desired effect. The audience broke into tears when their dormant faith was awakened, and many took the cross.<sup>73</sup>

71 Cramer p. 90. Both Cramer and Chroust agree that the account in the chronicle does reflect an actual sermon, cf. Cramer p. 88, Chroust p. LXXXIV.

72 "Pensate igitur, milites egregii, quam felix, quam favorabile et excellens militandi genus, quam fructuosus labor, cuius merces peccatorum remissio, quam revera dominus suis spondet et exhibet peregrinis." Ed. Chroust p. 124.

73 The same structure is observed in the *De profectioe Danorum in Hierosolymam*; the news of the defeats in the Holy Land is received by papal letter and legates at a royal council, and the first reactions of the listeners are silence and passivity, but they are awakened to action by the speech of a prudent and eloquent man. Cf. *De profectioe* ed. Gertz p. 464–7, Skovgaard-Petersen pp. 68–71. In *De profectioe*, the speaker is Esbern Snare, a lay nobleman, but his speech has the same function as the sermon of Bishop Henry, and it may be regarded a "secular sermon." The primary theme of this speech is that the Danes should honour and emulate the examples of their brave and honest, yet heathen, Viking



The *Historia peregrinorum* also relates that Bishop Gotfried of Würzburg played a dominant role as a preacher at the council at Mainz in March 1188, but it does not report the sermon itself.<sup>74</sup> However, it gives us the outlines of two other sermons preached by Bishop Gotfried during the campaign of Emperor Frederick. The report of the first is very short, and it is supposed to have been given outside Sofia in August 1189. The crusaders were instructed by the emperor to take the necessary supplies in the town, but many of them apparently went further and pillaged for loot. This display of avarice made the bishop of Würzburg address the army in a severe sermon, warning them that looting would incur the wrath of God, and admonishing them to cleanse themselves of their sins through penance.<sup>75</sup> The second sermon is reported to have been given at Pentecost, 3 May 1190. This occasion made Bishop Gotfried draw a comparison between the crusaders and the apostles. With the coming of the Holy Spirit, the apostles were enflamed by divine love so that they no longer feared to undergo suffering and death for Christ's name. Through their suffering the first plantation of Christianity grew strong, and later it was further propagated by the examples of the martyrs. It was more or less the same with the crusaders:

But we, dear brothers, as we see, exert ourselves every day for Christ in the struggle of death and martyrdom, so that, if we die, we will gain eternal life, and through our death the Christian name is exalted. In no other way did our faith gain ground than through the examples of martyrdom of the saints, as already stated. Therefore, let us make our present time a time for penance, and let us not murmur against God in the tents of our hearts (cf. Psalm 105 (106):25) [...]

Consequently, we who hang by a thread must reconsider our sins and our years in the bitterness of our souls, so that we in true penance and confession can present ourselves as an acceptable sacrifice to him, for whom we willingly suffer all this.<sup>76</sup>

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ancestors, and take up the much more useful and glorious fight for the Christian religion. As demonstrated by Skovgaard-Petersen, this nationalistic argument corresponds to the reference to the Maccabees in Guibert of Nogent and Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi*. The Maccabees, too, were heathen, but their heroism was worthy of imitation, and since they only fought for their own glory, the Christian warriors ought to surpass them (Skovgaard-Petersen pp. 37–40). In addition, Esbern's reference to the indulgences, which we have noted above, gives this speech some of the functions of a crusading sermon.

74 *Historia peregrinorum*, ed. Chroust pp. 125–6. See Cramer pp. 91–2.

75 Ed. Chroust p. 138.

76 "Nos autem, fratres karissimi, sicut videmus, cotidie pro Christo in agone mortis et martirio desudamus, pro quo, si morimur, et bene erit nobis vitam acquiriendo perpetuam et

The bishop then comforted the crusaders by assuring them that the Holy Spirit would help them in their tribulations. He also referred to the intercession of St. George (one of very few references to intercession by saints in these crusade sermons) and assured the crusaders that the eternal reward would be even sweeter after this bitter work.

Both of these sermons underline the penitential aspects of crusading, and this they have in common with the field sermons by Peter of Oporto and the anonymous priest of the Lisbon campaign. These also stressed both the importance of penitence and the spiritual state of the crusaders, as well as the need for proper conduct by the crusaders, who should abstain from looting and from excess in food and clothing. These examples of preaching in the field suggest that field sermons had a more penitential character than the recruiting sermons, at least up to the time of Innocent III, when recruiting propaganda appears to have become more penitential. If the field sermons were emphasizing the need to do penance, this should come as no surprise since the preachers on the campaigns had no need to play down the hardships of the crusade, which might scare off prospective recruits, but which the crusaders were already living every day. On the contrary, it was useful for the morale of the crusaders to point out the purpose of their sufferings, and to assure them that humble submission to these austere conditions was necessary both for the victory in battle and for their eternal reward.

A sermon by Alain of Lille appears to provide a glimpse of the preaching of the Third Crusade in France. This *Sermo de cruce domini* is also very penitential in character. The circumstances and audience for which it was written are unknown, but judging from its content it was composed for the festival of the exaltation of the cross on 14 September, probably in 1189 when the contest between the kings of France and England had been settled and their common departure on crusade was being prepared.<sup>77</sup> The feast of the exaltation of the cross celebrated the recovery of the relic of the True Cross from the Persian emperor in the early seventh century, and gave Alain occasion to mention the

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morte nostra titulus christianitatis poterit exaltari. Aliter enim fides nostra non accepisset incrementum, nisi, ut premissum est, sanctorum exemplis martirum niteretur. Faciamus itaque hoc tempus nobis penitenciale nec in tabernaculis cordium murmuremus contra dominum, pro illo pocius ista pacienter incommoda sustinentes [...] Proinde sic iam in arto positi necesse habemus propter peccata nostra recogitare annos nostros in amaritudine anime nostre, ut in vera penitencia et confessione nosmet ipsos ei, pro quo hec pati elegimus, placentem hostiam exhibere possimus." Ed. Chroust p. 163.

77 The sermon is published in *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses oeuvres*, ed. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny (1965), pp. 279–283. On the date see idem p. 143 and M. Phillips p. 145.

recent loss of the True Cross and to urge his audience to join the crusade and work for the recovery of the Cross and the liberation of Christ's inheritance. Alain had been a master at Paris and later at Montpellier, where he became involved in preaching and mission to the Cathars. Among his many works are *De Fide Catholica: Contra Haereticos, Valdenses, Iudeos et Paganos* and a manual for preachers, the *Summa de Arte Predicatoria* or *Ars Praedicandi*.<sup>78</sup> In the former work he expressed a relatively restrictive view on the indulgences, as we saw in chapter 3.2.3 above. Stressing the need for penance and true contrition, he stated that indulgences did not diminish the penances in this life, but were reserved for those punishments that were transferred to Purgatory because the penitent had been prevented from performing them by either infirmity or death.

The *Sermo de cruce domini* does not mention the crusade indulgence. Instead, the crusade is presented as an act of penance. Large parts of the sermon resemble typical sermons on the significance and symbolism of the cross. Early in the sermon Alain alludes to the two malefactors or robbers who were crucified together with Christ (Luke 23:32–43), and who represent the different responses to Christ's offer of forgiveness through penance. Whereas there is glory in the cross of Christ, the cross on the right has mercy and forgiveness while the cross on the left has only misery and pain.<sup>79</sup> About halfway through the sermon, Alain turns to the history of the relic of the True Cross which had been found by Helena, taken by Chosroes and liberated by Heraclius. Now, the True Cross has been lost again due to "our sins", Alain says, and states that the loss of this sign of the Lord's passion is the most unequivocal sign of Christ's withdrawal from men.<sup>80</sup> He then returns to the point that there are different responses to the cross and different ways to carry the cross:

Therefore indeed the soldiers of Christ [*milites Christi*] sign themselves with the sign of the cross on the body, sign on the heart, sign externally by the image, sign internally by penance; they bear the cross of Christ not with Simon [of Cyrene] as an obligation but with Christ in patience; with the right-hand robber in penance, not with the left-hand [robber] in vio-

78 On his life and works see G.R. Evans, *Alan of Lille. The Frontiers of Theology in the Later Twelfth Century* (1983) pp. 1–19 and d'Alverny's introduction to *Alain de Lille* pp. 11–183. The latter suggests (p. 15) that Alain may have been connected to Henry of Albano's mission in the Languedoc in 1180–82.

79 *Alain de Lille* p. 279. On the theology of this sermon and its connection to earlier patristic and monastic sermons as well as twelfth-century exegesis, see M. Phillips.

80 *Alain de Lille* pp. 280–1.

lence. Christians sign themselves with the cross; crucified they go on pilgrimage in the world; they reach the place; they seek the tomb with the Magdalen; they run with Peter; they discover with John. They weep for the capture of the cross; they labor for its recovery; they avenge the injuries of Christ; they mourn His insults; they free the land of our inheritance, the inheritance of Christ, the dowry of the Virgin.<sup>81</sup>

This section of the sermon alludes to many of the themes that characterize the promotion of the Third Crusade. As in the bulls of Gregory VIII the loss of the cross and of the sepulchre are due to the sins of Christendom, a punishment from God and a strong incentive to do penance. As in the papal bulls and the sermon of Bishop Henry of Strassbourg, the crusaders are called upon to weep and mourn over the misfortunes of the Holy Land, and to avenge the injuries against Christ and liberate his inheritance. The idea of *imitatio* is also used, but in a different way than by Gregory VIII and Henry of Albano. Alain of Lille states that the crusaders should strive to carry the cross of Christ and of the penitent robber who was crucified on the right-hand side of Christ. Here, Alain draws on an exegetical tradition of identifying four ways of carrying the cross: as Christ had done in charity, as the penitent robber on the right, as the impenitent robber on the left and as Simon of Cyrene, who signified hypocrisy. Within this theology, the right-hand robber was the example of those who are saved through true penance, offering their lives as a sacrifice to God.<sup>82</sup>

In contrast to *Audita tremendi* and to Henry of Albano, Alain does not link the call for penance to an idea of the crusade as test or a *tempus acceptabile* and there are no hints that God's mercy is at work behind the scenes. The spiritual rewards of the crusaders are not pointed out, but if one understands the exegetical traditions Alain is drawing on, it is clear that the crusaders may hope to be saved in the same way as the penitent robber, because they are performing an act of penance. In other words, the crusade is an act of penance and it works for the remission of sins in the same way as performing penance. As in Alain's *De fide* there is no way 'around' true contrition and the penitential works; there is no indulgence for the punishments in this life.

This *Sermo de cruce domini* does not appear to be a recruiting sermon, but should perhaps be regarded as a testimony that the cause of the Third Crusade and the imagery used in its promotion found a way into sermons for other occasions.

81 Alain de Lille p. 281; translation partly from Giles Constable: *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (2008), p. 90.

82 See M. Phillips pp. 147–51.

For the Fourth Crusade a number of individual preachers are known,<sup>83</sup> but only one sermon has survived, by Martin, Cistercian abbot of Pairis near Colmar. It is handed down in the chronicle of one of Martin's monks, Gunther of Pairis.<sup>84</sup> The sermon was held in Basel on 3 May 1200, at the feast of the discovery of the Cross. It opens with the statement by Martin that his sermon is the word of Christ, and that he is only a frail instrument of Christ, who is speaking through him. This statement recalls the bulls of Innocent III, but the choice of words is also reminiscent of the letters of Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>85</sup> The themes of the sermon are old and well-tested: injuries have been done to Christ, he has been driven out of his seat of power, and thrown out of the very city that he has consecrated to himself with his own blood. Various stages in the life and deeds of Christ in the Holy Land are recalled, and it is lamented that these places and the relic of the true Cross have now been lost to savage peoples and defiled. This constitutes the urgent need, for which the crusaders are summoned in feudal terms, to commit themselves to the cause of Christ: "And so now, true warriors, hasten to help Christ. Enlist in his Christian army. Rush to join the happy ranks. Today I commit you to the cause of Christ. I give him into your hands, so to speak, so that you might labor to restore him to his patrimony, from which he has been so unmercifully expelled."<sup>86</sup> As in some of the bulls, the example of the First Crusade is pointed at, but not so much in order to ask the crusaders to honour the sacrifices of their predecessors as to inspire confidence in them that the conquest of Jerusalem could be repeated.

The rewards for this labour are also mentioned, and they are referred to as *stipendia* granted by God, yet another feudal term. Everyone who takes the sign of the cross will have a full remission of sins, on the condition that he makes a full confession, and it is added that "wherever, whenever, and in whatever cir-

83 See Cole 1991 pp. 85 ff.

84 Gunther of Pairis: *The Capture of Constantinople. The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis*, ed. and transl. Alfred J. Andrea (1997); *Historia Constantinopolitana*, PL 212: 223–56, the sermon: cols. 227–8. Christoph T. Maier has argued that Gunther's report of the sermon is probably quite reliable, cf. "Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: Eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200" in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* Namens der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 55 (1999), pp. 95–115 (= 1999a), here pp. 97–8. On Abbot Martin's sermon see now also Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (2005), pp. 26–38.

85 "Verbum mihi ad vos; non meus utique, sed Christi. Christus ipse verborum auctor est; ego fragile instrumentum." PL 212: 227. Cf. the opening of Bernard of Clairvaux's letter 363, "Sermo mihi ad vos de negotio Christi, in quo est utique salus nostra." Ed. Leclercq p. 295.

86 Transl. Andrea p. 70.

cumstances he leaves this present existence he will gain eternal life.”<sup>87</sup> This may mean the conventional promise of eternal rewards for those who died on the campaign, which we have seen in the papal bulls from the eighth century onwards, with the added assurance that it also counted for those who died before they reached the Holy Land. However, it may also be taken to mean a promise that a person who had once taken the cross would be sure to gain eternal life, even if he fell into sin after having returned from the crusade, and in this case it was not in accordance with the official opinion. Martin of Pairis then draws attention to the temporal gains which the crusaders may enjoy from the crusade, in a curious statement in which he is claiming to do the opposite: “Now I shall not even mention that the land to which you are headed is by far richer and more fertile than this land, and it is easily possible that likewise many from your ranks will acquire a greater prosperity even in material goods there than they will have remembered enjoying back here.”<sup>88</sup> Cramer found this statement very remarkable because it made Abbot Martin the first and only official crusade preacher who pointed to temporal gains as an incentive to take the cross for the Holy Land.<sup>89</sup> While Cramer may have exaggerated the uniqueness of such a promise, Maier on the other hand has found that Martin actually played down the significance of the hope for temporal gains because of the recent defeats in the Holy Land.<sup>90</sup> Cole may be more to the point when she interprets Martin’s statement as an approximation to the sensibilities of ordinary people. Abbot Martin presented the crusade as an enterprise in which men could win both spiritual and temporal gain, and he “did not set the spiritual goals of crusading beyond the reach of his audience.”<sup>91</sup> He did not preach it as a penitential act, and he did not try to inspire a sense of guilt and duty in his audience. Neither did he adduce the theological arguments that allowed for the omnipotence of God by defining the crusade as a test and a *tempus acceptabile*. His message was simple and straightforward: “Christ wants help; through Martin he summons his soldiers to restore to him his rightful inheritance; and in return for this service, he will reward them generously.”<sup>92</sup> In the study mentioned, Maier has shown how this message and the

87 “Si autem quaeritis quid a Deo certi stipendii pro tanto labore sperare debeatis, certissime vobis polliceor quia quisquis signum crucis acceperit, et puram fecerit confessionem, ab omni prorsus mundabitur peccato, et quocunque loco, vel tempore, seu casu praesentem reliquerit vitam, eternam accipiet.” PL 212: 228; cf. transl. in L. & J. Riley-Smith p. 71.

88 Transl. Andrea p. 71.

89 Cramer p. 101.

90 Maier 1999a p. 106.

91 Cole 1991 p. 96.

92 As summed up by Cole, *ibid*.

gestures of the sermon conform to the rituals of begging pardon and favour, which people were familiar with in both the political and religious sphere.<sup>93</sup> All in all, Abbot Martin's message differs quite a lot from that of Innocent III, who underlined the penitential aspects, who presented the crusade as a duty to all Christians, and who expanded the indulgences to growing ranges of non-combatants. There are no traces of this in the sermon of Abbot Martin, and, as also remarked by Cole, Martin was simplifying the indulgence at a time when the pope was refining the terms and the application of the indulgence.<sup>94</sup> Nor did the abbot refer to the indulgence as granted by the pope; in his scheme, it is a *stipendium* granted by the Lord for faithful service.

Martin of Pairis did not use the *tempus acceptabile* idea, but he concluded the sermon with an admonition which may be inspired by the words of Bernard of Clairvaux, that with regard to taking the cross, the cost was small while the reward was great: "take the triumphal sign of the Cross in a spirit of joy, so that, by faithfully serving the cause of Him who was crucified, you will earn sumptuous and eternal pay for brief and trivial work."<sup>95</sup>

So far, this survey of the evidence of the crusade sermons of the twelfth century has shown that the preachers to a large extent gave the same arguments as the popes for the salvific efficacy of taking the cross, and that especially at the preaching of the Third Crusade, the correspondence with papal discourse was close. However, there is little evidence that the preachers gave special consideration to explaining the theology or the effect of the indulgence itself. It was mentioned by some of them, not even all, but it was not actually explained. At the end of our period this was going to change. The preaching of the Fifth Crusade was begun in 1213, and by this time it appears that that concern for pastoral matters, which can be traced in the influential theologians educated in Paris at the end of the twelfth century, was beginning to gain ground also in the preaching of the crusades. Evidence for this is the *Brevis ordinacio de predicatione S. crucis* from c. 1213–14, and the model sermons of Jacques de Vitry. It was the aim of the Paris masters to give the diocesan priests a better training in the art of preaching, and to make them better equipped to explain the tenets of faith to the laity, in order that the ordinary Christians would be more informed of the fundamental Christian doctrines and the importance of confession. The sacraments of penance and the Eucharist were felt to be especially important to explain to laymen, and the masters of theology thought that these matters

93 Maier 1999a pp. 110–5.

94 Cole 1991 p. 96.

95 Transl. Andrea p. 71.

could be made comprehensible by examples and analogies from everyday life and the familiar experience of the laity. The theologians also provided means for this pastoral revival by producing preaching manuals and sermon collections, which were meant to aid the preachers in composing sermons.<sup>96</sup>

The *Brevis ordinacio de predicatione s. crucis* is such a manual, probably written to help the preachers of the Fifth Crusade in England. It has been attributed to the Master Phillip of Oxford who is mentioned in Innocent III's *Pium et sanctum* and identified with a Paris-trained theologian at Oxford, but the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>97</sup> The *Brevis ordinacio* comprises much more than the word of the cross itself; in fact, it is a short manual of redemptive doctrine and sacramental theology, with focus on the fall of man, the redemption through Christ, penance, and the Eucharist.<sup>98</sup> In accordance with the ideas of the Paris theologians, it attempts to equip the preacher to bring home to his audience that crusading causes salvation, by using all the techniques of biblical and patristic authority, exemplum, analogy, and aphorism to explain how crusading destroys sin and fits into the means of salvation.<sup>99</sup> The overall theme is struck already on the first pages: how the death of Christ secured the life of man, and how, through death, man gains eternal life. At the culmination of the argument, this is worked together with the precept to follow Christ from Matt. 16:24 into an urgent admonition not only to take the cross but to die on it for Christ, in order to obey the command of the Lord, who says "follow me" (Mark 2:14), and thereby gain salvation. "Therefore, break the snares of falsity, rise in true faith and take the cross, so that on the day of Judgement you will be able to say: Lord, you were on the cross for me, and I on the cross for you, you died for me, and I for you! Rise, therefore, you servant of God, and because you are his servant, you must obey him."<sup>100</sup> In the *Brevis ordinacio*, the service of the Lord implies a duty to follow him in imitation of his death.

The indulgence is explained and justified first by reference to the burdens of the soldiers:

96 See Cole 1991 p. 112–7.

97 Cole 1991, p. 110–1.

98 The text is edited in *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (1879), pp. 3–26. On the contents of it in general, see Cole 1991, pp. 117–26.

99 Cf. Cole 1991, p. 125.

100 "Rumpe ergo laqueos falsitatis & surge in vera fide & sume crucem, ut possis dicere in die iudicij: Domine, pro me fuisti in cruce, & ego in cruce pro Te, Tu fuisti mortuus pro me, & ego pro Te! Surge ergo, serve Dei & quia servus eius, ideo obedire teneris ei!" *Brevis ordinacio* p. 21.



He who fights is in fear of death and should not be burdened, but the burden should be relieved from him, so that he can be agile. It is therefore proper that the Church should relieve its warrior who fights for it, and bear his burden; and for this reason the lord pope justly remits the crusaders' penalty for sin and pledges the support of the whole Church for those who can be cleansed through their own contrition, devotion, confession, work, and through the prayers and alms which are made by all Christians for the pilgrims of the Holy Land.<sup>101</sup>

Next, the crusader's burden of sins and penance is likened to a load of stones, which can be relieved one by one until they are all removed. "In the same way the crusader is relieved of the penalty for sin by the lord pope and the universal Church; 'for whatever it shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven' (cf. Matt. 16:19)."<sup>102</sup> These analogies serve to make the indulgences comprehensible and explain why they are granted to crusaders, and how they relieve penances for the recipient. At the same time, however, the author also finds room for stating the formal conditions both for obtaining the indulgence: the contrition and confession on the part of the recipient, as well as the conditions for their effect: the labour and devotion of the recipient, the intercessory prayers of the Church, and finally the power of the keys of the pope and the whole Church. The meaning of Matt. 16:19 and the object of the power of the keys is even explained:

It should be noted that it says above (*super*) earth, it does not say inside earth, nor on earth. Above earth means the one who ignores earthly things, on earth means the one who attach his heart to earthly things, and of those the apostle says: "Their glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things" (Phil. 3:19), this means, they find their pleasure and taste in earthly things.<sup>103</sup>

101 "Qui pugnat, est in metu mortis, nec debet onerari, sed debet onus ab eo tolli, ut ipse sit agilis. Merito ergo debet ecclesia exonerare suum pugilem, qui pro ipsa pugnat, & sustinere pondus ipsius, & ideo cruce signatis iuste remittit Dominus papa penam peccatorum & obligat universalem ecclesiam pro ipsis, qui mundari possunt per propriam eorum contricionem, devocionem, confessionem, laborem, per orationes & elemosynas, que fiunt ab universis Chrisitanis pro peregrinis Terre Sancte." *Brevis ordinacio* pp. 8–9.

102 "Similiter cruce signatus deoneratur a pena peccatorum per Dominum papam & universalem ecclesiam; 'quemcunque enim solverit super terram, erit solutus & in celum.'" *Brevis ordinacio* p. 9.

103 "Notandum quod dicitur super terram, non dicitur infra terram, nec in terra. Super terram est, qui terrena negligit, in terra est, qui in terrena cor suum affigit, & talibus dicit aposto-

Accordingly, the keys do not loose those who are hanging on to earthly pleasures and sin, but only those who have true contrition and devotion. By contrast, the sin of Adam and Eve consisted of the clinging on to earthly things, and for that they were rightly punished with death when they ate the food that was forbidden, the author explains. He then turns to the sacramental food, the Eucharist. The effect of the Eucharist is that people “enter” Christ, because those who eat the flesh and blood of Christ “will abide” in Christ (John 6:54–56). This metaphor of being in Christ allows the author to confer with a quotation from Revelation 14:13, “Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,” and this juxtaposition of being in Christ, of dying for him, and of eternal life, is fully exploited in the rest of the *ordinacio*. First, we get a series of meditations on the cross and the wounds of Christ, and these are to inspire the audience to imitate Christ: “On the cross, the Lord represents for us our whole life, so that we may imitate him since every action of Christ is a lesson to us.”<sup>104</sup>

The author constantly refers to the dichotomy of the Fall and the Redemption, and against this background he sets the crusade as a part of the divine plan for salvation.

The Lord does not want that you should perish, you whom he redeemed by his life, but he has consideration for you, who so many times after baptism fall into the snares of the devil by your sins, both the carnal and the spiritual, and therefore he sends you purification and purgation from sins, so that you may take the cross and rescue the Holy Land, and thus by the cross you shall enter the heavenly kingdom and so you shall see that which it is a great joy to look at and more delightful than words can say.<sup>105</sup>

In this way, the author demonstrates how the crusade fits into the plan of salvation and the tenets of Christian doctrine. Along with the Eucharist and penance, the crusade is a means of gaining the remission of sins. The *Brevis ordinacio* also has many thematic similarities with the contemporary crusad-

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lus, ‘Gloria eorum in confusione, qui in terrena sapiunt’ (Phil. 3: 19), hoc est, habent delectationem & saporem in terrenis.” *Brevis ordinacio* p. 9.

104 “Dominus in cruce describit nobis totam vitam nostram, ut imitemur eum, quia omnis Christi accio nostra est instructio.” *Brevis ordinacio* p. 13.

105 Reading “post baptismum” instead of “per baptismum”: “Non vult igitur Dominus, quod vos pereatis, quos ipse pro vita sua redemit, sed est memor vestri, qui tociens per baptismum inciditis in laqueos diaboli per peccata vestra & carnalia & spiritualia, unde mittit vobis hic mundacionem & purgacionem a peccatis, ut crucem summatis ad succursum Terre Sancte, & sic per crucem intrabitis in regnum celorum & sic videbitis aspectu desiderabilem & ineffabiliter delectabilem.” *Brevis ordinacio* pp. 13–4.

ing bulls. The *imitatio Christi* and duty towards Christ has a very prominent position, as well as the idea of the crusade as a penitential act and an opportunity for salvation. It seems that the *Brevis ordinacio* also tries to inspire in the audience a sense of guilt over the crucifixion and of a debt to Christ, a form of persuasion which is also at play in the bulls of Innocent III.<sup>106</sup>

The amount of general doctrine in this manual is probably explained both by the author's belief that the crusade was an integrated part of the means of salvation, and by his conviction that the basic principles of Christian doctrine should be explained to the laity at every convenient occasion. Crusade preaching was a good opportunity for contact with the laity, and this is why we see some of the most famous proponents of the pastoral-moral school of theologians engaged in crusade preaching.<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately, however, we do not know how widely used the *Brevis ordinacio* was, or how it was turned into sermons, and if the individual preachers actually put so much doctrine into them.

Jacques de Vitry also made an effort to make the crusade indulgence comprehensible in his two model sermons for the crusades. These two sermons appear to have been composed for two different types of audience; the first underlines the duty of the knights to fight for their heavenly Lord and was probably directed to potential combatants, while the second underlines the devotional sides of the crusade and appears suitable also for non-combatants.<sup>108</sup> Since we have already examined Jacques de Vitry's remarks on the indulgences above in chapter 3.2.7, only the main points shall be referred to here. Especially in the second sermon, Jacques de Vitry presented the indulgences as a main reason why people should take the cross, because the indulgence made the crusade a real bargain. Like Bernard of Clairvaux, he stated that in this business the "work is short and the wages immense."<sup>109</sup> The deal was so good that one should think that the Lord was drunk, Jacques added in a colourful analogy: "As if drunk, the Lord now makes a good bargain and gives his kingdom for just about nothing."<sup>110</sup> Apart from these sales arguments and popular analogies, Jacques also found room for stating the formal conditions for the indulgences, confession and true contrition, and he stated the pope's power of the keys as

106 A further similarity with the bulls of Innocent III is the importance of eucharistic doctrine; on this in relation to Innocent III's concept of crusade, see Maier 1999b.

107 E.g. Robert of Courson, Jacques de Vitry, Stephen Langton, see above c. 3.2.7. Cf. also Cole 1991, p. 126.

108 Cf. Cole 1991, p. 139.

109 "labor brevis et merces immanis." Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 114/117.

110 Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 118/119.

the basis for them.<sup>111</sup> He appears to have been anxious to make the audience understand that the indulgence has an effect both in this life and in Purgatory, as this is stated repeatedly.<sup>112</sup> In the first sermon the indulgences are only mentioned at the end, and here Jacques de Vitry has tried to make them comprehensible in feudal terms, and describes them as payment for service analogous to that of a vassal from his lord. In addition, he relates an *exemplum* about a lay brother Symon who, after having asked the Lord what reward the crusaders were given, had a vision of the Holy Virgin holding her son and giving him to every one who took the cross with a contrite heart.<sup>113</sup> This *exemplum* is clearly meant to persuade those who had misgivings about leaving their family and lands unprotected at home, since it is stated that brother Symon was originally grieved to see people leaving their spouses, children, fatherland, and possessions behind, before he had his assuring vision that the crusaders gained Christ. The second sermon points out the indulgences for non-combatants, which are stated in the bulls of Innocent III. The indulgences for sending a substitute and for hearing a sermon are mentioned, and it is explained that those who contribute to paying for a family member on crusade will participate in the merit according to their expenses.<sup>114</sup>

Jacques de Vitry's sermons adhere to and develop on many of the themes put forth in the bulls of Innocent III.<sup>115</sup> Sermon I gives a vivid description of how Jerusalem, where Christ suffered for man, is now being defiled by the Saracens. In the beginning of Sermon II, Christ himself is crying out in a loud voice as in *Nisi nobis* and *Quia maior*.<sup>116</sup> Because Christ suffered for man, man has a duty to take the cross, "you must not abandon a true friend who did not abandon you, but turned himself over to death for you."<sup>117</sup> The crusade is a test, and Jacques de Vitry develops this at some length in feudal terms. Christ has lost his *patrimonium* and wants to find out who are his true friends and vassals, and the duty towards Christ is compared to that of a vassal to his liege lord.<sup>118</sup>

111 Ed. Maier 2000, p. 112.

112 Ibid. pp. 98, 106, 108, 112, 120.

113 Ibid. p. 98.

114 Ibid. pp. 120, 122, 112.

115 The formulas used by Jacques de Vitry is *remissio omnium peccatorum* for the plenary indulgence and *penitentia relaxantur* for the partial indulgence for hearing a sermon. At one instance, he uses the formula *remissionem cunctorum scilicet peccatorum quantum ad penam et culpam et insuper vitam eternam* (Sermon I in Maier 2000 p. 98), that is a remission of both punishment and guilt, a *poena et culpa*, which was the short form that came into use in the propaganda. (Cf. chapter 1.1.1 above.)

116 Ed. Maier 2000, p. 102.

117 Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 98/99.

118 Ed. Maier 2000, pp. 96–98, 104, 126.

Quite in accordance with the bulls of Innocent III, Jacques points to the punishments for not giving service, “He who holds a fief from a liege lord is rightfully deprived of his fief if he abandons him, when he is involved in a war and his inheritance is taken away from him. You hold your body and soul and all you have from the highest emperor, who has you summoned today to come to his aid in battle ...”<sup>119</sup> The same generous Lord, who is offering a bargain so good that it seems that he is drunk, can also be “like a powerful man drunk with wine” who “will soon be aroused and pulling back his hand, he will strike down his enemies from behind at the end of this life and will give them eternal shame after death.”<sup>120</sup>

As in the bulls of Innocent III, the crusade is also a *tempus acceptabile* and an occasion for penance.<sup>121</sup> God could have saved his land himself “with one word”, but instead he is offering a chance of salvation, and in accordance with *Quia maior*, Jacques claims that, “Many are saved by this holy pilgrimage who would have remained in their sins if the Lord had liberated this land himself in the first place.”<sup>122</sup>

Jacques goes on to state that with regard to crusade and merit, it is the labour that counts, not the result: “This is why it says in the book of Wisdom: God *pays back the wages for their holy labours*; it does not say fruit, since he does not remunerate according to the result of the matter. Which is why, although the Christians have not recovered the Holy Land, those who laboured for its recovery nevertheless received the eternal reward.”<sup>123</sup> The labour of the crusade counts because it works like a penance – or even better than any ordinary penance. This point is underlined by the *exemplum* about the man who hid in a loft because his wife did not want him to go to the crusade sermon, but who heard it anyway and was convinced (related above in chapter 3.2.7). What really convinced this man was when he heard that taking part in the crusade would be worth more than 60 years of penance of fast and hair shirt.<sup>124</sup>

## 6.2 Conclusions

With the model sermons of Jacques de Vitry, the message of the sermons appears to have been tied closely to the papal message once again. In conclusion

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. pp. 98/99. Cf. pp. 92, 104.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. pp. 118/119.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid. p. 126.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. pp. 116/117.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. pp. 116/117.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. pp. 120/121.

of this comparison of the bulls and the sermons, we may say that it appears that there was a large degree of interdependency in the themes used. In some cases it can be established that the preachers borrowed their themes directly from the papal bulls. In other cases, it seems that the borrowing went in the opposite direction, from the preachers to later bulls. Thus, the direct references to renunciation and the imitation of Christ turn up in the sermons first, as in the report of the sermon of Peter of Oporto, who also used the theme of avenging the injuries against the Holy Land before this became commonplace in the bulls after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Likewise, the image of Christ crying out on the cross was used by Henry of Albano before it was used in the bulls of Innocent III.

Several themes that originated in Bernard of Clairvaux's promotion of the Second Crusade gained popularity in later bulls as well as sermons, because they explained the relation between crusade and reward in a way that was both comprehensible to the lay people and theologically consistent. The crusade as a *tempus acceptabile* and a test laid out by God for his loyal servants were thus employed already at the Third Crusade, both by Pope Gregory VIII and by the preachers, while the idea of the crusade as a good bargain that bought eternal life for virtually nothing turned up in the sermon of Abbot Martin at the Fourth Crusade and was further accentuated by Jacques de Vitry at the Fifth Crusade.

The sermons mention or allude to a spiritual reward for the crusaders in different ways, either in the form of an "eternal reward", the remission of sins or a cancellation of penance. Some of them seem eager to present the crusade as an advantageous opportunity for gaining a special reward, while others are more concerned with stressing the crusaders' need for penitence and self-sacrifice. This is the case with the sermons identified as field sermons as well as with the sermon by Alain of Lille.

The two Paris masters, Alain and Jacques, appear to have approached the presentation of the spiritual rewards quite differently. In Alain's case the material is almost too thin for making comparisons with his academic teaching on indulgences, but he appears to have held on to his reservations about indulgences also in connection with crusades. In Jacques' case the material is much fuller and makes it clear that he did simplify his teaching on indulgences in the crusade sermons. As we saw in chapter 3.2.3 and 3.2.7, he was among the theologians who argued that no one can know for certain how great the value of an indulgence will be in Purgatory, because the effect depended on the devotion of the recipient as well as of those who pray as *suffragantium*. These reservations are not mentioned in his popular crusade sermons, where the academic

distinctions are replaced by *exempla* and colourful analogies, designed to bring home the message to a broader audience.

The obvious yet quite impossible question to these discoveries is what the people who heard the sermons actually got out of them. It would be very interesting to know which arguments were the most persuasive with regard to making them take the cross. How important was the promise of spiritual reward, and how did people perceive this reward? Did they understand the nature of the indulgence such as defined by the theologians? Did people buy the argument that “the cost is small, the reward is great”, when the costs of going on crusade were in fact very high?<sup>125</sup> These are all interesting questions, but lie beyond the scope of this study.

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<sup>125</sup> On the costs, see e.g. Riley-Smith 1997a, pp. 109–18.

## Conclusions

One feature that defined the crusades particularly in distinction to other wars was the opportunity for the warriors to win a spiritual reward. As the institutions of the crusade evolved, this reward became embedded in the special indulgence that was promised to crusaders. This study has followed aspects of this process of institutionalisation and of the belief in a spiritual reward for crusades in papal documents and in theological tracts of the twelfth century.

The formation of the indulgence went faster in the diploma than in theology. While it emerged as a practise in relation to the penitential system in the first half of the eleventh century, and was only discussed and defined by the theologians 150–200 years later, it also reached a standard form in the diploma prior to its consolidation in theology. The formula *remissio peccatorum* was ratified by Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council and subsequently became the official formula for centuries. These words had also already been a preferred expression from the beginning of the crusading movement, even though some of the popes of the twelfth century had tried out other formulas. *Remissio peccatorum* was thus the traditional formula from an early stage, and the fact that it was adopted by the First Lateran Council in 1123 must have given it a certain weight. On the other hand, this formula cannot be said to have been the hallmark of a “real” indulgence from the beginning. Moreover, the formula in itself does not reveal much about the intentions of the issuers, because the meaning of the term does not appear to have been clearly established by the beginning of the period.

Within theology, *remissio peccatorum* came to mean first of all the forgiveness of the guilt for sins by grace, as administered in the sacraments. However, the theologians often remarked that the ‘remission of sins’ had more meanings, i.e. both remission of punishments and of guilt, and thus they allowed for the fact that the term was used both for the indulgences and for the sacramental forgiveness of sins.

In the crusading bulls, the formula came to mean the remission of the penalties, i.e. of the consequences of sin. The reason why this formula came into use may have been the fact that it was a well-known formula from donations to ecclesiastical institutions in the eleventh century. Endowments to monasteries and churches were very often granted “for the remission of my sins”, and a study of these donations in this connection might provide further insights as to the origins of the formula *remissio peccatorum* in papal diploma. The



formula was also very well known from the Creed and the liturgy where it was used in the sacraments of baptism, of the Eucharist, etc. It was thus a familiar phrase connected with pardon and spiritual grace, and it is not unlikely that this resonance played a part in its popularity. This baggage of traditional meanings made it seem more assuring and trustworthy than newly invented formulas of 'relaxations of penances' or 'remissions of enjoined penances'. The employment of *remissio peccatorum* for indulgences of penance could also only be problematic and confusing after the development of the distinctions between guilt and punishments, and by then, the formula had already been used about indulgences so often that it was an established tradition.

The theologians were left with the task of explaining the foundations of an institution that was already well established, and it does seem that they lagged somewhat behind the papal bulls in their attempts to account for its effect. Not until well into the thirteenth century did they come to base it primarily on the power of the keys, to which the popes had referred all along. The academic theology provided the concepts that could be used to analyse and explain the indulgences; the distinctions between guilt and penalty, between temporal and eternal punishments as well as the concept of Purgatory all contributed to a clearer understanding of how indulgences worked. The problem of the transcendental effect was one of the prime considerations, and some of the early scholastics were remarkably hesitant about the use of indulgences, not only because they might cause the penitents to take their sins too lightly, but also because it was believed that the penalty had to be compensated for in some way in order not to be transferred to Purgatory or some such place. The problems of finding compensation for the remitted penances were not solved until c. 1230 with the teaching on the treasury of merits. This teaching also solved a specific problem with regard to the crusade indulgences: whether the indulgence also worked for those crusaders who died before they could fulfil their vow. Before the treasury of merits, the provision of enough substituting merits for dead crusaders, who did not perform anything themselves, was regarded as a problem, but with this new teaching, the pope gained authority over an infinite treasure of good works. At the same time, there was a shift of focus in the teaching on indulgences, from the subjective performance of penitence and penance of the recipient to the objective powers of the pope, and the authority to grant indulgences became an instance of his *plenitudo potestatis*, which could be delegated to the bishops.

Indeed, what could an indulgence have been worth for a crusader, or for anyone, if it did not have transcendental effects, and his penalties were only transferred to the afterlife? The fact that the theologians put their efforts into accounting for the transcendental effect underlines our argument that the

indulgences must have been intended to have such effects from the beginning. The present study has disproved all the elements of the thesis of non-transcendence: that it is an established fact that the council of Clermont chose not to use the formula *remissio peccatorum*; that this formula could have had the precise meaning of remission of God's part of the temporal punishment; that penances were believed to be for the Church only, and could be remitted without transcendental consequences; that the papacy was reluctant to use the formula *remissio peccatorum* until the Second Crusade; that this formula was far more special than the remissions of penances; that formulas of remissions of penances meant something fundamentally different from those of remissions of sins.

The examination of the *statuta* on crusade indulgences has shown that the popes appear to have grown more confident in their powers to grant indulgences, but not that their views on them changed profoundly during our period. Thus, Urban II referred to the mercy of God, the intercession of the Church and the apostolic authority of himself and the French bishops as the warrant of the effect, while Calixtus II and later popes thought it sufficient to call upon the apostolic authority and divine powers that had been granted particularly to them as successors to St. Peter. The shifts in the formulas and the reference to remission of enjoined penances instead of remissions of sins by Gelasius II and again by Alexander III and his immediate successors can all be explained as efforts at reaching a higher degree of theological clarity. As long as indulgences were granted plenarily the ambiguous formula *remissio peccatorum* could be fitting, but it did not seem appropriate to speak of a partial remission of sins. Sins were forgiven either fully or not at all, and a full confession of all sins was the condition for the forgiveness for sins as well as for obtaining the indulgence. The reference to enjoined penance in the statutes underlined the importance of full confession and the point that only confessed sins would be remitted by the indulgence.

Furthermore, the search in the Patrologia Latina Database has provided a contextualization of the various formulas of the crusade indulgence. It has demonstrated that the formulas of remissions of sins were much more frequent than those of enjoined penances since they were retrieved at a ratio of 16:1 in the papal diploma. Perhaps contrary to previous assumptions, the references to remissions of enjoined penances were very rare and none of the popes seem to have preferred this formula over the remissions of sins.

The Second Crusade has often been regarded as a turning point in the development of the ideas about the merits and rewards of crusading. The present study does not corroborate this view. The crusade indulgence of Eugenius III was not fundamentally different from the indulgences granted by Urban II and

the intermediate popes. Bernard of Clairvaux's concept was not fundamentally new, either, even if he accentuated the mercy of God more than Urban II appears to have done. What was achieved, when he defined the crusade as a jubilee and a *tempus acceptabile* in which the crusaders were invited to prove their loyalty and win indulgences, was greater theological refinement to the existing concept. His emphasis on the mercy of God as the operating force behind the crusade ruled out all possibility that the crusaders were merely saving themselves or somehow forcing God to save them.

Indulgences could be granted for crusades because they were believed to be meritorious in the sight of God. This vouched for their transcendental effects, and this belief is reflected in both the theologians and in the bulls. From the time of the Second Crusade, the crusading bulls contained elaborate explanations about the merit earned by the crusaders, and these provide us with an insight into the crusade theology of the popes and the curia. This theology was susceptible to the progress and setbacks of the crusades. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 seems to have made a particular impact and to have nourished the idea that it was the sufferings of the crusaders in imitation of Christ that secured their spiritual reward. A second tendency which is observed in the bulls is an increased emphasis on the relationship between the crusader and Christ as one of personal service, in which the loyalty of the crusader is tested. In the time of Innocent III, participation in the crusade furthermore became an obligation and a duty for all Christians, and this corresponded to the increased possibilities for gaining crusade indulgences also for non-combatants, who could participate in the merit as well as in the reward by giving money instead.

The progress within theology supported the same development, even if it happened with the same kind of time lag in relation to the bulls as previously observed. In the beginning, the theologians found that the crusaders were worthy of receiving indulgences because they were putting their lives at risk for the cause, and they emphasised the subjective performance of penitence and penance of the crusader as the guarantee for the transcendental effect. The crusader's own contrition and efforts had to provide for the penance that was remitted. With the teaching of the treasury of merits, however, the effect came to rest on the powers of the Church and the pope. The infinite treasury of merit meant that the pope could dispense indulgences to large groups of people, and it was no longer necessary to ask for the will to make the ultimate sacrifice in return for a plenary indulgence.



## Decrees of Spiritual Rewards for Crusades, 1095–1215

### *Urban II (1088–1099)*

November 1095, canon 2 of the Council at Clermont, according to Lambert of Arras:

“Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniae adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur.”<sup>1</sup>

December 1095, letter to all faithful in Flanders:

“Gallicanas partes visitavimus eiusque terrae principes et subditos ad liberationem Orientalium ecclesiarum ex magna parte sollicitavimus et huiusmodi procinctum pro remissione omnium peccatorum suorum in Arvernensi concilio celebriter eis iniunximus ...”<sup>2</sup>

19 September 1096, letter to the clergy and people of Bologna:

“Sciatis autem eis omnibus, qui illuc non terreni commodi cupiditate sed pro sola animae suae salute et ecclesiae liberatione profecti fuerint, paenitentiam totam peccatorum, de quibus veram et perfectam confessionem fecerint, per omnipotentis Dei misericordiam et ecclesiae catholicae preces tam nostra quam omnium paene archiepiscoporum et episcoporum qui in Galliis sunt auctoritate dimittimus, quoniam res et personas suas pro Dei et proximi caritate exposuerunt.”<sup>3</sup>

### *Paschal II (1099–1118)*

December 1099, to the bishops of France:

“... omnes ergo regionumstrarum milites in peccatorum suorum remissionem vel veniam cohortamini, ut ad illam matrem nostram Orientalem ecclesiam studeant festinare; eos praesertim, qui huius militiae voto crucis signa sumpserunt, illuc properare compellite, nisi paupertatis retineantur obstaculo ...”<sup>4</sup>

28 May 1100, to “all triumphant Christian soldiers in Asia”:

“Omnipotens Dominus et velle et posse in vobis omnibus operetur, ut quae eo auctore facienda cognoscitis, ipso adiuvante impleatis. Ipse vos ab omnibus peccatis absolvat et exsilio vestro patriam aeternam retribuat.”<sup>5</sup>

1 Somerville p. 74; Mansi XX col. 816; PL 162: 717a.

2 Hagemeyer p. 136.

3 Ibid. p. 137; PL 151: 483

4 Ibid. pp. 174–5.

5 Ibid. p. 179.

14 October 1100, to King Alfonso VI of León-Castile granting the same forgiveness of sins as to those who went to Jerusalem:

“... peccatorum veniam pugnatoribus in regna vestra comitatusque mandavimus.”<sup>6</sup>

25 March 1101, on the same matter:

“Vobis ergo omnibus iterata praeceptione praecipimus ut in vestris partibus persistentes Moabitas et Mauros totis viribus impugnetis: ibi largiente Deo vestras poenitentias peragatis: ibi sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et apostolicae eorum Ecclesiae remissionem et gratiam percipiat.”<sup>7</sup>

12 January (1100–1116), for Coimbra:

“Nostos etiam filios Colimbrie milites Christi contra Mauros infideles assidue pugnantes benedictione Beati Petri et nostra refovemus et peccatorum suorom absolutionem his qui confessi fuerint damus.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1114, according to the chronicle of Peter Diaconus of Montecassino, Pope Paschal directed the people of Pisa and elsewhere to the fight against the Saracens at Mallorca:

“... sub remissione omnium peccatorum illos ad insulas Baleares direxit.”<sup>9</sup>

For the Christian soldiers at San Geminiano (date between 1099–1115):

“Obedientes vero in Dei Ecclesiaeque servitio fideliter persistentes, omnipotens Deus BB. apostolorum precibus ab omnibus peccatis absolvat, et ad vitam perducatur aeternam.”<sup>10</sup>

### *Gelasius II (1118–1119)*

10/29 December 1118, for the Christian army besieging Saragossa:

“Et quoniam et vos ipsos et vestra extremis objicere periculis decrevistis, si quis vestrum, accepta de peccatis suis poenitentia, in expeditione hac mortuus fuerit, nos eum Sanctorum meritis et totius Ecclesiae catholicae precibus a suorum vinculis peccatorum absolvimus. Caeterum qui pro eodem Domini servitio vel laborant vel laboraverint et qui praefatae urbis ecclesiae a Sarracenis et Moabitis dirutae, unde reficiatur, et clericis ibi Deo famulantibus, unde pascantur, aliquid donant vel donaverint, secundum laborum suorum et beneficiorum suorum Ecclesiae impen-

6 PL 163: 45c.

7 PL 163: 65a.

8 *Memorias da academia real das sciencias de Lisboa, classe de sciencias moraes, politicas e bellas letteras; nova serie* vol. 1 part 1, 1854, p. 73. JL dates it between 1100 and 1116, no. 6485.

9 *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* IV: 57, in MGH Scriptores in Folio 34, p. 521. On the same expedition Laurentius Veronensis wrote: “Pro tanto facto peccamina cuncta relaxat.” PL 163: 515.

10 PL 163: 366d.

sorum quantitatem ad episcoporum arbitrium, in quonum parochiis degunt, poenitentiarum suarum remissionem et indulgentiam consequantur.”<sup>11</sup>

### *Calixtus II (1119–1124)*

First Lateran Council 1123, canon 10:

“Eis, qui in Hierosolymam proficiscuntur et ad christianam gentem defendendam et tyrannidem infidelium debellandam efficaciter auxilium praebuerint, suorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus et domos et familias atque omnia bona eorum in beati Petri et Romanae ecclesiae protectione, sicut a domino nostro papa Urbano statutum fuit, suscipimus. Quicumque ergo ea distahere vel auferre, quamdiu in via illa morantur, praesumpserint, excommunicationis ultione plectantur. Eos autem qui vel pro Hierosolymitano vel pro Hispanico itinere cruces sibi in vestibus posuisse noscuntur et eas dimisisse, cruces iterato assumere et viam ab instanti pascha usque ad sequens proximum pascha perficere, apostolica auctoritate praecipimus. Alioquin ex tunc eos ab ecclesiae introitu sequestramus et in omnibus terris eorum divina officia praeter infantium baptismata et morientium poenitentias interdicimus.”<sup>12</sup>

April 1123,<sup>13</sup> for crusaders in Spain:

“Omnibus enim in hac expeditione constanter militantibus eandem peccatorum remissionem, quam Orientalis Ecclesiae defensoribus fecimus, apostolica auctoritate et concessa nobis divinitus potestate, benigne concedimus. Illis autem qui signum crucis suis vestibus hac de causa imposuerunt, si ab hoc Paschate usque ad alium votum suum persolvere non sategerint, a gremio sanctae Ecclesiae, donec satisfaciant, submovemus.”<sup>14</sup>

### *Honorius II (1124–1130)*

In 1125 at a council in Santiago de Compostela, archbishops and papal legate granted a plenary indulgence to those who fought against the Moors (the pope was not present himself):

“Quisquis autem hujus militiae particeps fieri voluerit omnium suorum peccatorum redordetur et ad veram confessionem et veram poenitentiam venire festinet; et postea, acceptis armis, ad astra Christi in Dei obsequium et suorum peccatorum remissionem procedere non differat; quod si ita fecerit, nos et nostri fratres venerabiles coepiscopi, abbates, et aliae religiosae personae, in concilio, quod, juxta domini papae edictum, xv Kal. Februarii Deo auctore Compostellae celebravimus,

<sup>11</sup> PL 163: 508c.

<sup>12</sup> Alberigo p. 167f.

<sup>13</sup> *Bullaire du Pape Calixte* (p. 266) dates it 2 April 1121–24; Paulus (1 p. 198) dates it April 1123.

<sup>14</sup> PL 163: 1305c; *Bullaire du Pape Calixte* pp. 266–7.

nobiscum residentes, eum ab omnibus suis peccatis, quae a fonte baptismatis usque ad hodiernum diem diabolo instigante perpetravit, omnipotentis Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli atque Jacobi, omniumque sanctorum auctoritate absolvimus.

[...] Si quis autem vir aut femina, ad supradicta castra ire non potuerit, si secundum posse suum armatos milites vel pedites pro se miserit, accepta ut supradictum est poenitentia, eamdem ei plenariam absolutionem in nomine Domini concedimus.”<sup>15</sup>

1128 for an expedition against Roger of Sicily who supported antipope Anaclet:

“Ex autoritate divina et beatae Mariae virginis et sanctorum Apostolorum meritis talem eis impendit retributionem; eorum videlicet, qui delictorum suorum poenitentiam sumpserint, si in expeditione illa morientur, peccata universa remisit: illorum autem, qui ibi non mortui fuerint et confessi sunt, medietatem donavit.”<sup>16</sup>

### *Innocent II (1130–1143)*

1135 council in Pisa, sanctions against Roger of Sicily and antipope Anaclet (Pier Leone):

“... generalis quoque sententia data est in universos qui terra vel mari merces in Scilicetiam vel in Apuliam deinceps tulerint, ut ibi eas vendant, et qui illuc transierint ut Rugerio tyranno ab ecclesia separato vel suis serviant, donec ipsi ad fidelium redierint unitatem; eis autem, qui adversus eum vel Petrum Leonis ad liberationem ecclesie terra vel mari perrexerint et in eodem servicio fideliter laboraverint, eadem remissio facta est, que per papam Urbanum omnibus proficiantibus Ierosolymam pro Christorum liberatione in consilio Claromontano constituta est.”<sup>17</sup>

### *Eugenius III (1145–1153)*

1145 town council in Coimbra, at which the pope was not present:

“Et quicumque ibi fuerit mortuus talem remissionem sicuti illi qui migraverit in Jherosolimis.”<sup>18</sup>

*Quantum praedecessores* 1 December 1145 and 1 March 1146:

“Universitatem itaque vestram in Domino commonemus, rogamus, atque praecipimus, et in peccatorum remissionem injungimus, ut qui Dei sunt et maxime potentiores et nobiles, viriliter accingantur et infidelium multitudini, quae fere semper victoria super nos adepta laetatur, sic occurrere, et Ecclesiam Orientalem tanta

<sup>15</sup> *Historia Compostellana* in PL 170: 1135a-c.

<sup>16</sup> Falco Beneventanus: *Chronicon*, in PL 173: 1199b.

<sup>17</sup> E. Bernheim, “Ein bisher unbekannter Bericht vom Concil zu Pisa im Jahr 1135” in *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* XVI (1881), pp. 147–54, pp. 150–1; JL I p. 865

<sup>18</sup> *Livro Preto da sé de Coimbra* vol. III p. 263.



patrum vestrorum, ut praediximus, sanguinis effusione ad eorum tyrannide libera-  
tam, ita defendere [...]

Nos autem vestrorum quieti et eiusdem ecclesiae destitutioni paterna sollicitudine  
providentes, illis qui tam sanctum tamque perneccessarium opus et laborem devo-  
tionis intuitu suscipere et perficere decreverint, illam peccatorum remissionem,  
quam praefatus praedecessor noster papa Urbanus instituit, auctoritate nobis a  
Deo concessa concedimus et confirmamus [...]

Peccatorum remissionem et absolutionem juxta praefati praedecessoris nostri  
institutionem, omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri apostolorum principis auctoritate  
nobis a Deo concessa, talem concedimus, ut qui tam sanctum iter devote inceperit  
et perfecit sive ibidem mortuus fuerit, de omnibus peccatis suis, [de] quibus  
corde contritio et humiliato confessionem susceperit, absolutionem obtineat et  
sempiternae retributionis fructum ab omnium remuneratore percipiat.”<sup>19</sup>

*Divini dispensatione* 11 April 1147, for the expedition against the pagan Slavs north of  
the Elbe – “the Wendish Crusade”:

“Omnibus illis, qui crucem eandem Iherosolim[itan]am non acceperunt et contra  
Slavos ire et in ipsa expeditione, sicut statutum est, devotionis intuitu manere  
decreverunt, illam remissionem peccatorum, quam praedecessor noster felix  
memorie papa Urbanus Iherosolimam transeuntibus instituit, omnipotentis Dei et  
beati Petri, apostolorum principis, auctoritate nobis a Deo concessa concedimus.”<sup>20</sup>

25 April 1150, letter to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis on a second campaign of the failed  
crusade of 1146–48:

“... si ad tam arduum opus eos promptos agnoveris, consilium et auxilium nostrum,  
quantum poterimus, et remissionem peccatorum, sicut in aliis litteris nostris conti-  
netur, secure promittas ...”<sup>21</sup>

1152 [same as by Anastasius below]<sup>22</sup>

#### *Anastasius IV (1153–1154)*

24 September 1153/54, for all faithful who would join Count Raimund Berengar IV of  
Barcelona in the fight against the infidel:

“Ut autem pro tanto labore dignum premium uos habituros speretis, illam peccato-  
rum remissionem, que ad predecessore nostro felix memorie papa Urbano ad lib-  
erationem orientalis ecclesie tunc transeuntibus statuta est, vobis auctoritate  
apostolica confirmamus. [...]

19 PL 180: 1065b–1066a.

20 *Pommersches Urkundenbuch* vol. I, pp. 36–7; PL 180: 1203c.

21 PL 180: 1414–5; *Recueil de historiens des Gaules et de la France* p. 457.

22 Cf. PL 180: 1539; Kehr: *Papsturkunden in Spanien* vol. I, ii, p. 347.

Peccatorum autem remissionem et absolutionem omnipotentis Dei et beati Petri apostolorum principis autoritate nobis a Deo tradita talem concedimus, ut qui tam sanctum iter devote inceperit et perfecit sive ibidem mortuus fuerit, de omnibus peccatis suis, quibus corde contrito et humiliato confessionem susceperit, absolutionem obtineat et sempiternae retributionis fructum ab omnium bonorum remuneratore percipiat.”<sup>23</sup>

#### *Hadrian IV (1154–1159)*

*Quantum strenui* 13 November 1157:

“... rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quatenus comissum vobis populum studeatis diligentissimo commonere, et eis in suorum veniam delictorum ex injuncto vobis officio injungatis, ut si qui idonei fuerint et strenui ad bellandum, ad loca illa pro eorum liberatione ac defensione festinent. Hi vero qui in propriis personis non poterunt laborare, equos, arma bellica, quae in partibus illis sunt plurimum necessaria, et alia de facultatibus suis pro animarum suarum salute et paganorum remedio illuc studeant destinare.”<sup>24</sup>

#### *Alexander III (1159–1181)*

On 14 July 1165 he reissued *Quantum praedecessores* of Eugenius III without changes in the paragraphs on the indulgences – except that he referred to both Urban and Eugenius as his predecessors.<sup>25</sup>

*In quantis pressuris* 29 June 1166:

“Quapropter felicis recordationis patris et predecessoris nostri Eugenii pape exemplum et doctrinam sequentes universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus atque precipimus et vobis in peccatorum remissionem injungimus, ut, qui Dei sunt et maxime potenciores et nobiles, viriliter accingantur et infidelium multitudini, que se victoriae super nos tempus adeptam esse legatur, sic occurrere satagatis et ecclesiam orientalem tanta patrum vestrorum sanguinis [...]

Nos autem quieti uestre et eiusdem terre impugnationi paterna sollicitudine providere uolentes illis, qui tam sanctum tamque pernecessarium opus et laborem deuotionis intuitu suscipere decreuerint et perficere illam peccatorum remissionem, quam pie memorie Urbanus papa et idem antecessor noster Eugenius instituere, auctoritate nobis a Deo collata concedimus et confirmamus atque uxores et filios eorum, bona et possessiones suas sub beati Petri et nostra, archiepiscoporum etiam et aliorum prelatorum ecclesie Dei protectione manere decernimus. [...]

23 Kehr: *Papsturkunden in Spanien* vol. I, ii, p. 347.

24 PL 188: 1538; *Recueil de historiens des Gaules et de la France* p. 682.

25 PL 200: 385d–386c.

Preterea quicumque de viris bellicosis et ad terre illius defensionem idoneis ad loca illa, que dominus et redemptor noster Iesus Christus corporali presencia sanctificauit, deuocionis amore accesserint et ibi duobus annis contra Sarracenos pro christiani nominis defensione pugnaverint, nos de misericordia Dei omnipotentis et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli meritis confidentes eis omnium peccatorum suorum, de quibus corde contrito et humiliato confessionem susceperint, absolucionem facimus, nisi forte aliena bona rapuerint uel usuras extorserint aut furta commiserint, que omnia debent in integrum emendari. Si uero in facultatibus delinquentium non fuerint, que ea ualeant emendare, de commissis ueniam, prout diximus, nichilominus consequatur. Hi autem qui illic per annum, sicut diximus, moram habuerint, de medietate iniuncte sibi penitencie peccatorum suorum indulgenciam et remissionem obtineant. [...]

Preterea omnibus dominicum sepulcrum pro instanti necessitate visitare volentibus tam in itinere morte preoccupatis quam usque illuc peruenientibus, laborem itineris ad penitentiam, obedienciam et remissionem omnium peccatorum iniungimus, ut post hujus certaminis ergastula uitam eternam consequi mereantur.”<sup>26</sup>

*Inter omnia* 29 July 1169:

“Nos autem sollicitudinem vestram favore apostolico prosequentes illis, qui pro diuinitatis amore laborem hujus profectionis assumere et, quantum in se fuerit, implere studuerint, de indultae nobis a Domino auctoritatis officio, illam remissionem impositae poenitentiae per sacerdotale ministerium facimus, quam felicitis memoriae Urbanus et Eugenius, patres et antecessores nostri temporibus suis statuisse noscuntur, ut uidelicet qui ad defensionem terrae idoneus et ad hoc obsequium expeditus, suscepta poenitentia biennio ibi ad defensionem terrae permanserit et sudorem certaminis ad praeceptum regis et majorum terrae pro amore Christi portaverit, remissionem injunctae poenitentiae se laetetur adeptum, et cum contritione cordis et satisfactione oris profectionem istam satisfactionis loco ad suorum hanc indulgentiam peccatorum; nisi forte rapinae vel furti vel perceptae usurae reos esse constiterit, in quibus, si facultas adfuerit, non purgatur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum. Si vero facultas reddendi defuerit, praedicta satisfactio ad istorum quoque remissionem sufficiat peccatorum. Qui vero per annum in hoc labore permanserit, exoneratum se de medietate satisfactionis impositae auctoritate apostolica recognoscat.

[...] Praeterea omnibus sepulcrum Dominicum pro instanti necessitate visitare volentibus, tam in itinere morte praeoccupatis, quam usque illuc peruenientibus, laborem itineris ad poenitentiam, obedientiam et remissionem omnium peccato-

<sup>26</sup> Hiestand 1972, no. 53 pp. 251–3.

rum injungimus, ut post hujus certaminis ergastula vitam aeternam consequi mereantur.”<sup>27</sup>

11 September 1171/72, crusading bull for Estonia, addressed to kings, princes, and all faithful of Christ in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden:

“Nos enim eis, qui adversus seape dictos paganos potenter et mangnanimiter decertaverint, de peccatis suis de quibus confessi fuerint et poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem unius anni, confisi de misericordia Dei, et meritis apostolorum Petri et Pauli, concedimus, sicut his qui sepulcrum Dominicum visitant, concedere consuevimus. Illis autem, qui in conflictu illo decesserint, omnium suorum, si poenitentiam acceperint, remissionem indulgemus peccatorem.”<sup>28</sup>

*Non parum animus* 17 September 1171/72, letter to all faithful in Denmark, urging them to help Bishop Fulco of Estonia in his efforts to convert the Estonians:

“Quia vero particeps mercedis efficitur, qui ei ad tam pium et sanctum opus perficiendum consilium et subsidium subministrat, devotionem vestram monemus et exhortamur in domino et [in] remissionem peccatorum vestrorum injungimus, quatenus de bonis a deo vobis collatis praedicti episcopi [Fulco of Estonia] inopiam sublevantes, ei manum auxilii porrigatis, et caritatis solatia divini amoris intuitu ministretis, ut per haec et alia bona, quae deo inspirante feceritis, apud altissimum peccatorum vestrorum veniam consequi et ad aeternae felicitatis gaudi mereamini, propitiante domino, pervenire.”<sup>29</sup>

8 December 1171/72, letter to all faithful in France:

“...universitatem vestram rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in Domino, et in remissionem peccatorum vobis injungimus, quatenus fratres et nuntios praedicatorum canonicorum qui ad vos mittuntur onera et necessitates suas exposituri, tam devote quam humiliter recipiatis, et eis charitatis solatia et subventionis auxilium porrigatis, ut ab omnipotente Domino, qui nullum bonum praetermittit inremuneratum aeternae retributionis praemia recipiatis, et ad supernae beatitudinis gaudia mereamini Deo propitio pervenire.”<sup>30</sup>

Third Lateran Council 1179, canon 27 on provisions against the Albigensians:

“Ipsis autem cunctisque fidelibus in remissionem peccatorum iniungimus, ut tantis cladibus se viriliter opponant et contra eos armis populum christianum tueantur; confiscenturque eorum bon et liberum sit principibus huiusmodi homines subicere servituti. Qui autem in vera poenitentia ibi decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum mercedis aeternae se non dubient percepturos. Nos etiam de misericordia Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli autoritate confisi, fide-

27 PL 200: 600c-601c.

28 PL 200: 861a.

29 DD 1: 3 no. 28 p. 39. PL 200: 863b.

30 PL 200: 758b.

bus christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint et ad episcoporum seu aliorum praelatorum consilium ad eos certaverint expugnandos, biennium de poenitentia iniuncta relaxamus, aut si longiorem ibi moram habuerint, episcoporum discretioni, quibus huius rei cura fuerint iniuncta, committimus, ut ad eorum arbitrium secundum modum laboris major eis indulgentia tribuatur.”<sup>31</sup>

*Cor nostrum* 16 January 1181

“Illis autem qui pro Christo hujus viae laborem assumpserint, illam indulgentiam peccatorum, quam patres et praedecessores nostri Urbanus et Eugenius Romani pontifices statuerunt, apostolica auctoritate concedimus et confirmamus.

[...] Praetera, quicumque de viris bellicosus et ad illius terrae defensionem idoneis, illa sancta loca fervore devotionis adierint, et ibi duobus annis contra Saracenos pro Christiani nominis defensione pugnaverint, de Jesu Christi pietate, et de beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum auctoritate confisi, eis omnium suorum, de quibus corde contritio et humiliato confessionem susceperint, absolutionem facimus delictorum: nisi forte aliena bona rapuerint vel usuras extorserint aut commiserint furta, quae omnia debent in integrum emendari. Si vero non est in facultatibus delinquentium, unde valeant emendari, nihilo minus consequentur veniam, prout diximus, de commissis. Hi autem, qui illic per annum, sicut diximus, moram habuerint, de medietate sibi iniunctae poenitentiae indulgentiam et remissionem suorum obtineant peccatorum. Omnibus autem sepulcrum Domini pro instanti necessitate visitare volentibus, sive in itinere moriantur, sive ad istum locum perveniant, laborem itineris ad poenitentiam et obedientiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum injungimus, ut de vitae praesentis ergastulo ad illam beatitudinem, Domino largiente, perveniant, quam nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, quam repromisit Dominus diligentibus se.”<sup>32</sup>

*Lucius III* (1181–1185)

In November 1184 he reissued Alexander III's bull of January 1181.<sup>33</sup>

*Gregory VIII* (1187)

*Audita tremendi* 29 October 1187:

“Eis autem, qui corde contrito et humiliato spritu laborem huius itineris assumpserint et in poenitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam pollicemur aeternam; sive autem supervixerint, sive mortui fuerint, de omnibus peccatis suis, de quibus rectam confessionem fecerint,

<sup>31</sup> Alberigo p. 201.

<sup>32</sup> PL 200: 1295d-1296b.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Paulus p. 202.

impositae satisfactionis relaxationem de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate et nostra se noverint habituros.”<sup>34</sup>

*Cum divina patientia* October/November 1187.<sup>35</sup> The provisions on indulgences in this bull have not been preserved but may have been similar to those in the following letter by Clement III.<sup>36</sup>

**Clement III (1187–1191)**

*Quam gravis et* 10 February 1188, to the archbishop of Canterbury:

“Proinde rogamus vos et exhortamur in Domino, et per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatinus vos ipsi ad succursum ejusdem provinciae, tam in personarum quam rerum missione, auxilia competentia transmittatis... subjectos quoque vestros efficaciter inducatis ad hoc ipsum agendum, ut, cum vos et illi socii fueritis passionis, debeatis esse... et participes consolationis ac remissionis illius quae proficiscentibus illuc vel congrua suffragia transmittentibus prius a praedecessore nostro bonae memoriae Gregorio papa et postmodum a nobis generaliter est indulta. [...]

34 Ed. by A. Chroust in (Ansbert), *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs I* (1928), pp. 6–10. Also in PL 202: 1542c.

35 Only a fragment of this bull is known from the narrative *De profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, printed in Langebek: *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* v, 345f. and Gertz: *Scriptores minores historiae danicae* 2, pp. 463f. It was dated 29 Nov. by JL (no. 16073) on the assumption that it was issued at a council in Parma 28–30 Nov. 1187. The editors of the *Diplomatarium Danicum* (1: 3 p. 225) followed this dating, and so did Schwerin (though hesitatingly; see her appendix, no. 10). The basis for this assumption is that the *De profectione* states that the bull was issued “convocato concilio” (p. 463). However, as recently argued by Anthony Perron (2002, p. 63 n.), this needs not be taken to mean a full-blown synod, and as the *De profectione* also claims that the bull reached Denmark by Christmas 1187, it could not have been issued in late Nov. because this would have left only 3–4 weeks for it to travel from Parma to Odense, a journey which he estimates would normally take 8 weeks and could not be done in less than 40 days. Indeed, there is nothing much to substantiate that *Cum divina patientia* was issued at Parma (cf. Mansi vol. 22. col. 537), but as the Christmas court of King Knud may well have convened at least until 6 Jan. this still leaves us with a *terminus ante quem* of around late Nov. The final *terminus ante quem* is 17 Dec, when Pope Gregory VIII died. The *terminus post quem* is the date of which the loss of Jerusalem had been verified to the curia. As argued above (chapter 5, note 77) it appears from *Audita tremendi* that this was not known for certain when this was issued on 29 Oct. The news of the defeat at Hattin took over two months to reach the pope (cf. letter of Urban III in Edbury, ed. 1996 pp. 156–7), but the news of Jerusalem may well have travelled faster and have reached the curia shortly after 29 Oct.

36 According to Paulus p. 204, the fact that Clement III expressly referred to Gregory means that *Cum divina patientia* must have been the first bull granting indulgences for giving memory to crusades; see the letter by Clement.

Sane quicumque vere poenitens in persona propria illuc iverit, remissionem habeat omnium peccatorum. Qui vero de rebus suis competens subsidium direxerint ad partes easdem, sive pro se aliquem miserint, qui ibi pro Christiani populi defensione debeant immorari, arbitrio vestro committimus de remissione peccatorum, considerata tam qualitate personae quam subventionis quantitate, ipsis vere poenitentibus, concedenda.”<sup>37</sup>

**Celestine III (1191–1198)**

*Cum ad propulsandam* 11 January 1193:

“Hac consideratione inducti, universis orbis principibus in remissionem injunximus peccatorem ...”<sup>38</sup>

*Misericors et miserator* 25 July 1195. The provisions on the indulgences are an exact repetition of *Audita tremendi*, except for the words in brackets:

“Nos autem [illis qui pro divinitatis amore laborem huius profectionis assumere et quantum in se fuerit implere studuerint, de indulto nobis a Deo auctoritatis officio illam remissionem impositae poenitentiae per sacerdotale ministerium facimus, quam praedecessores nostri noscuntur suis temporibus statuuisse, ut videlicet] qui corde contritio et humiliato spiritu laborem huius itineris assumpserint, et in poenitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam et vitam propter hoc consequantur aeternam. Sive autem supervixerint sive mortui fuerint, de omnibus peccatis suis de quibus fuerint recte confessi, impositae satisfactionis relaxationem de omnipotentis Dei misericordia et apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate et nostra se noverint habituros. [... Illi autem qui in subsidium terrae illius de bonis suis transmiserint, de peccatis suis veniam consequentur iuxta suorum moderamina praelatorum.]”<sup>39</sup>

**Innocent III (1198–1216)**

*Quanta sit circa* 1–10 January 1198, for German princes in the crusade of Emperor Henry IV:

“Rogamus igitur discretionem vestram, monemus attentius et hortamur in Domino et in remissionem vobis iniungimus peccatorem, quatinus assumpti laboris gravitatem studeatis taliter adimplere, praelium Domini praeliantes, ut vestris exigentibus meritis, de coelo vobis auxilium ministretur.”<sup>40</sup>

21 April 1198, against the Albigensians:

37 Inserted by Giraldus Cambrensis in his *De principis instructione*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera* vol. VIII, pp. 237–8. Cf. Paulus p. 205.

38 PL 206: 972c.

39 PL 206: 1109c–1110a.

40 Reg. 1 no. 13 p. 22; PL 214: 10–1.

“Ad haec nobilibus viris principibus, comitibus et universis baronibus et magnatibus in vestra provincia constitutis praecipiendo mandamus et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, ut ipsos benigne recipientes pariter et devote, eis contra haereticos tam viriliter et potenter assistant, ut ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum potestatem sibi traditam probentur laudabiliter exercere [...] illis, qui pro conservatione fidei christiane in tanto discrimine, quod ecclesie imminet, ipsis astiterint fideliter et devote, illam peccatorum suorum indulgentiam concedentes, quam beati Petri vel Jacobi limina visitantibus indulgemus.”<sup>41</sup>

*Plorans ploravit* end of June 1198:

“... in remissionem iniuncimus peccatorum, ut ad defensionem terre nativitatis et resurrectionis Dominice [...]”

Nos autem, ne videamur aliis onera gravia et importabilia imponere, digito autem nostro nolimus illa movere, aliquem de fratribus nostris in expensis propriis ad partes illas cum alio competenti subsidio disposuimus destinare, qui exercitum Domini in humilitate praecedat et, Josue pugnante, cum Aaron [et] Vr ascendat in montem contemplationis et oret, ut Amalech in fugam faciente Domino in ore gladii convertatur.

Omnibus autem, qui propter hoc in persona propria laborabunt, de Dei et apostolorum eius Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus cordis et oris egerint penitentiam, veniam indulgemus. Ceteros vero, qui ad opus huiusmodi exsequendum aliqui de bonis suis forte contulerint, iuxta devotionis affectum remissionis huius participes esse censemus.

[...] Cum ergo vos ad proponendum verbum Domini populo Sicilie de prudentia et religione vestra confisi duxerimus deputandos, discretionem vestram rogamus, monemus et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem vobis iniungimus peccatorum, quatenus circumeuntes civitates ...”<sup>42</sup>

*Post miserabile* 15 August 1198:

“De Dei ergo misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa quam, nobis Deus licet indignus ligandi et solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus, qui laborem huius itineris in personis propriis subierint et expensis, plenam peccatorum suorum, de quibus oris et cordis egerint poenitentiam, veniam indulgemus et in retributione iustorum salutis eterne pollicemur augmentum. Eis autem, qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis tantum expensis iuxta facultatem et qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinaverint illic saltem per biennium moraturos, et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis in propriis tamen personis assumpte peregrinationis laborem impleverint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum. Huius quoque remissionis volumus esse participes iuxta

<sup>41</sup> Reg. 1 no. 94 p. 137; PL 214: 81–3.

<sup>42</sup> Reg. 1 no. 302 p. 432–3; PL 214: 263–5.



quantitatem subsidii ac precipue secundum devotionis affectum, qui ad subventionem ipsius terre de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt.”<sup>43</sup>

4 November 1198, admonishing Count Raimund VI of Toulouse to go on crusade to the Holy Land in order to atone for his misdeeds:

“Ut igitur preter divinam gratiam peccatorum tuorum veniam et apostolice protectionis presidium, que in suis illic expensis proficientibus indulgemus, et augmentum eterne corone, quod insuper pollicemur, a Domino merearis, rogamus nobilitatem tuam, monemus et hortamur in Domino et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, quatinus signum vivificae crucis assumas et in satisfactionem criminum, que hactenus comisisti, ad partes transeas transmarinas, ubi funiculum hereditatis Christiani iura populi Christiani defendas et impugnes barbari et paganorum.”<sup>44</sup>

5 October 1199, for the crusade in Livonia:

“... universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur attentius, in remissionem vobis peccaminum iniungentes, quatinus, nisi pagani circa Liouonensem ecclesiam constituti cum Christiani treugas inire voluerint et initias observarint, ad defensionem Christianorum, qui sunt in partibus illis, potenter et viriliter in nomine Domini exercituum assurgatis.”<sup>45</sup>

24 November 1199, for Sicily against Markward of Anweiler:

“Monemus igitur universitatem vestram et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem vobis iniungimus peccatorum, quatenus in dictum M(arcualdum), inimicum Dei et ecclesie [...]

Nos enim attendentes perfidiam Marc(ualdi), [...] illam concedimus veniam peccatorum, quam in defensionem terre orientalis transfretantibus indulgemus ...”<sup>46</sup>

*Graves Orientalis terrae* 31 December 1199:

[For the clergy:] “... omnibus clericis tam subditis quam praelatis qui quadragesimam ipsam sponte ac fideliter solverint, de Dei omnipotentis misericordia ac beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, quartam partem iniuncte sibi penitentie relaxantes, dummodo nulla fraus interveniat et pia devotio suffragetur.”

[For the crusaders same formula as *Post miserabile* except that substitutes only have to serve one year to get a plenary indulgence:] “... illic per annum moraturos ad minus ...”<sup>47</sup>

43 Reg. 1 no. 336 p. 503; PL 214: 308–12.

44 Reg. 1 no. 397 p. 596; PL 214: 374–6.

45 Reg. 2 no. 182 p. 349; DD 1: 3 no. 254 p. 401; cf. PL 214: 739.

46 Reg. 2 no. 212 p. 414; PL 214: 780–2.

47 Reg. 2 no. 258 pp. 493–4, 496; PL 214: 828–32.

*Nisi nobis* 4 January 1200:

[Same formula as *Post miserabile* except that substitutes only have to serve one year to get a plenary indulgence.]<sup>48</sup>

31 May 1204, to the legates for France, admonishing King Philip Augustus and the nobility of the region to take action against the Albigenians:

"... et iniungentes eis in remissionem omnium pec(catorum), cum illos, qui contra hereticos fideliter laborarint, eadem indulgentia gaudere velimus, quam in Terre sancte subsidium transfretantibus indulgemus."<sup>49</sup>

28 May 1204, to the French king against the Albigenians:

"Monemus igitur serenitatem regiam et exhortamur in Domino et in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum, quatinus vel per te ipsum, si fieri poterit, vel per karissimum in Christo filium nostrum, L(udouicum) natum tuum aut alium virum prudentem [...]

... eam obtineas veniam peccatorum, quam in Terre sancte subsidium transfretantibus indulgemus."<sup>50</sup>

17 November 1207, to the French king and all counts, barons and knights in France on the same:

"... auxilium tuum, fili karissime, invocandum duximus ad vindicandam iniuriam Iesu Christi et capiendas vulpeculas, que vineam Domini Sabaoht non cessant in simplicibus demoliri, serenitatem regiam monentes attentius et exhortantes in Domino in remissionem tibi peccaminum iniungentes, quatinus ad extirpandos tam degeneres palmites [...]

Volumus insuper, ut ipsorum hereticorum bona omnia publicentur et tam tibi vel in persona propria laboranti vel necessarium auxilium impendenti quam hominibus terre tue, qui contra perfidos ipsos arma susceperint expugnandos, illa valeat remissio peccatorum, quam hiis qui laborant pro Terre sancte subsidio, duximus indulgentiam ..."<sup>51</sup>

March 1208, to the French bishops on the same:

"Illis autem, qui orthodoxe fidei zelo succensi [...] suorum remissionem peccaminum a Deo eiusque vicario secure promittatis indultam, ut eis labor huiusmodi ad operis satisfactionem sufficiat super illis offensis, pro quibus cordis contritionem et oris confessionem veram obtulerint vero Deo."<sup>52</sup>

48 Reg. 2 no. 259 pp. 500–1; PL 214: 832–5.

49 Reg. 7 no. 77 p. 125; PL 215: 358–60.

50 Reg. 7 no. 79 p. 128, 129; PL 215: 361–2.

51 Reg. 10 no. 149 p. 256; PL 215: 1246–8.

52 Reg. 11 no. 25 pp. 33–4; PL 215: 1354–8.

March 1208, to the French king on the same:

“... in virtute Christi confidenter iniungimus et in remissionem peccaminum indulgemus, quatinus tantis malis occurrere non postponas et attendens, quod ...”<sup>53</sup>

9 October 1208, to the French bishops on the same:

“... scientes remissionem peccaminum a Deo eiusque vicario universis indultam, qui orthodoxe fidei zelo succensi ad opus se accinxerint huiusmodi pietatis, ut eis labor tam sanctus ad operis satisfactionem sufficiat super illis offensis, pro quibus cordis contritionem et oris confessionem veram obtulerint vero Deo.”<sup>54</sup>

*Utinam Dominus* 10 December 1208, to all faithful in Lombardy for a crusade to the Holy Land:

“Ut autem de vestra iam quasi retributione securi laborem tam sanctum confidentius assumatis, de Dei omnipotentis ...” [same formula as *Post miserabile* except that substitutes only have to serve one year to get a plenary indulgence.]<sup>55</sup>

31 October 1209, to King Valdemar II of Denmark about a crusade against the heathen:

“Nos igitur tuum propositum in domino commendantes. deuotionem regiam monemus attentius et hortamur et in remissionem tibi peccatorum iniungimus. quatinus amore illius qui captiuitatem nostram sua duxit uirtute captiuam. ad extirpandum paganitis errorem et terminos christiane fidei dilatandos ...”<sup>56</sup>

31 October 1209, to all faithful in Denmark about assisting King Valdemar with the crusade:

“universitatem uestram monemus attentius et hortamur uobis in remissionem peccaminum iniungentes. quatinus amore illius qui captiuitatem nostram ...” [same as above]<sup>57</sup>

4 February 1211, to King Alfonso VIII of Castile:

“... in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere poenitentibus iniungentes, ut cum Saracenis in octavis Pentecosten proximo adfuitis campestre bellum indixerit [...] Pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos qui propria deuotione undecunque processerint ad idem opus fideliter exsequendum.”<sup>58</sup>

31 January 1211, to the archbishop of Sens and suffragans on Castile:

“Nos igitur pium ejus propositum in Domino commendantes, fraternitati vestrae per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus subditos vestros sedulis exhortationibus moneatis, in remissionem omnium peccatorum ex parte Dei et nostra vere poe-

53 Reg. II no. 26 p. 37; PL 215: 1358–9.

54 Reg. II no. 153 p. 243; PL 215: 1469–70. See also PL 215: 1470–1; PL 216: 158–9.

55 Reg. II no. 180 p. 298; PL 215: 1500–3.

56 DD I: 4 no. 162 p. 301; PL 216: 116.

57 DD I: 4 no. 163 p. 302; PL 216: 118.

58 PL 216: 513.

nitentibus injungentes, ut ei praescripto termino in hoc necessitatis articulo succurrentes, necessarium impendant auxilium in rebus pariter et personis; ut per haec et alia bona fecerint, coelestis regni gloriam consequi mereantur. Pari quoque remissione gaudere concedimus peregrinos qui propria devotione undecunque processerint ad idem opus fideliter exsequendum.”<sup>59</sup>

*Quia maior* April-May 1213:

“Nos enim de omnipotentes Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa, quam nobis Deus, licet indignis, ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestate omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subierint et expensis plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus veraciter fuerint corde contriti et ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum.

Eis autem, qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis dumtaxat expensis juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinarint et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum.

Huius quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes juxta quantitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum omnes, qui ad subventionem terrae sanctae de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt.”<sup>60</sup>

29 December 1215, to all faithful in Denmark that those who are not able to go on crusade to the Holy Land must go to Livonia instead:

“Cum igitur plures existant qui tum debilitate uirium tum rerum defectu non audent suis humeris affigere signum crucis in terre sancte subsidium profecturi eis in remissionem iniungimus peccatorum quatenus in eorundem accedant auxilium contra barbaras naciones pro plantatione nouella fidei christiane tam spiritualibus armis quam materialibus pugnaturi ut per hec et alia bona que fecerint a bonorum omnium largitore consequi mereantur gratiam in presenti et gloriam in futuro. Ad hec autem ecclesiarum prelatos monemus et exhortamur attentius presencium auctoritate mandantes quatenus populo sibi commisso hec annunciare procurent et ipsum ad subuencionem illorum fideliter exhortentur concessa eis qui subue[n]t rint in personis aut rebus indulgentia peccatorum.”<sup>61</sup>

*Ad liberandam* Fourth Lateran Council 1215:

“Nos igitur omnipotentes Dei misericordia et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, ex illa, quam nobis, licet indigne, Deus ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestate, omnibus qui laborem propriis personis subierint et expensis, plenam suorum peccaminum, de quibus liberaliter (veraciter) fuerint corde contriti

59 PL 216: 514.

60 PL 216: 817–22.

61 DD 1: 5 no. 61 pp. 97–8.

et ore confessi veniam indulgemus et in retributione justorum salutis aeternae pollicemur augmentum.

Eis autem, qui non in personis propriis illuc accesserint, sed in suis dumtaxat expensis juxta facultatem et qualitatem suam viros idoneos destinarint et illis similiter, qui licet in alienis expensis, in propriis tamen personis accesserint, plenam suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum.

Huius quoque remissionis volumus et concedimus esse participes juxta qualitatem subsidii et devotionis affectum, omnes qui ad subventionem ipsius Terrae de bonis suis congrue ministrabunt aut consilium et auxilium impenderint opportunum.

Omnibus etiam pie proficiscentibus in hoc opere communi universalis synodus omnium beneficiorum suorum suffragium imparitur, ut eis digne proficiat ad salutem.”<sup>62</sup>

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62 Ed. Alberigo pp. 246–7.

# Tables

TABLE 1 *The formulas of remissions of sins and penances*

|               | Remissions of sins |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                | Remissions of penances |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
|               | remis. pecca.      | in/pro remissi. pec. | in rem. pec. injung. | venia. pecca. | pecca. absol. | pecca. indulge. | crimenum indulge. | absol. delict. | venia delict.          | poeniten. relaxa. | poeniten. indulge. | satisfactio. relaxa. | poeniten. remissi. | poeniten. reput. | poeniten. dimi.  |
| Sylvester II  |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| John XVIII    |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                | 1                      |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Sergius IV    | 1                  |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  | (1) <sup>1</sup> |
| Benedict VIII |                    |                      |                      | 1             |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| John XIX      |                    |                      |                      | 2             |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Benedict IX   |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Gregory VI    |                    |                      |                      |               | 3             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Clement II    |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Leo IX        |                    |                      |                      |               | 4             | 1               |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Victor II     |                    |                      |                      |               | 1             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Stephen IX    |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   | 1              |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Nicholaus II  | 1                  |                      |                      | 4             |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Alexander II  |                    |                      |                      | 2             | 2             |                 |                   | 1              |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Gregory VII   | 5                  |                      |                      | 5             | 30            | 7               |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Victor III    |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Urban II      |                    | 4                    |                      | 2             | 8             | 2               |                   | 1              |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    | 1                |                  |
| Paschal II    |                    | 4                    | 1                    | 4             | 7             | 3               |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Gelasius II   |                    |                      |                      |               | 1             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    | 1                |                  |
| Calixtus II   | 6                  |                      | 4                    | 3             | 4             | 4               |                   |                |                        | 1                 |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Honorius II   |                    | 1                    | 1                    | 2             |               |                 |                   |                |                        | 1                 |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Innocent II   | 1                  | 6                    | 8                    | 6             | 3             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   | 1                  |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Celestine II  |                    |                      |                      |               | 1             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Lucius II     |                    | 1                    | 3                    |               | 1             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Eugenius III  | 4                  | 1                    | 6                    |               | 2             |                 |                   |                |                        |                   | 2                  |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Anastasius II |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |                        |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |
| Hadrian IV    |                    | 2                    | 3                    | 3             |               |                 |                   |                | 2                      |                   |                    |                      |                    |                  |                  |

|               | Remissions of sins |                      |                      |               |               |                 |                   |                |               | Remissions of penances |                    |                      |                    |                  |                 |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
|               | remis. pecca.      | in/pro remissi. pec. | in rem. pec. injung. | venia. pecca. | pecca. absol. | pecca. indulge. | criminum indulge. | absol. delict. | venia delict. | poeniten. relaxa.      | poeniten. indulge. | satisfactio. relaxa. | poeniten. remissi. | poeniten. reput. | poeniten. dimi. |
| Alexander III | 7                  | 2                    | 23                   | 10            | 3             | 5               |                   | 1              | 5             | 1                      | 2                  |                      | 2                  |                  |                 |
| Lucius III    | 1                  |                      | 2                    |               |               |                 |                   |                |               |                        |                    |                      |                    |                  |                 |
| Urban III     |                    |                      | 5                    | 1             |               |                 |                   |                |               |                        |                    |                      |                    |                  |                 |
| Gregory VIII  |                    |                      |                      |               |               |                 | 1                 |                |               |                        |                    | 1                    |                    |                  |                 |
| Clement III   |                    |                      | 2                    |               |               |                 |                   |                |               |                        |                    |                      |                    |                  |                 |
| Celestine III | 1                  | 1                    | 5                    | 1             | 1             |                 | 1                 |                | 2             | 1                      | 1                  | 1                    | 1                  |                  |                 |
| Innocent III  | 9                  | 9                    | 104                  | 23            | 1             | 5               |                   | 1              |               | 5                      | 3                  |                      | 1                  |                  |                 |
| Sum           | 35                 | 31                   | 167                  | 69            | 72            | 27              | 2                 | 5              | 10            | 9                      | 9                  | 2                    | 6                  | 0                | 0               |
| Sum total     |                    |                      |                      |               |               | 418             |                   |                |               |                        |                    |                      | 26                 |                  |                 |

1 This decree is false, cf. N. Paulus I p. 137.

TABLE 2 *The formulas of remissions of sins for different purposes*

|               | Crusades  |           |           |           |           |           | Princes   |           |           |           |           |           | Prelates  |           |           |           |           |           | Privileges |           |           |           |           |           |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|               | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec.  | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. |
| Sylvester II  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| John XVIII    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           | 1         |
| Sergius IV    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1          |           |           |           |           |           |
| Benedict VIII |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            | 1         |           |           |           |           |
| John XIX      |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            | 2         |           |           |           |           |
| Benedict IX   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Gregory VI    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Clement II    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Leo IX        |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           | 1         | 1         |           |           |

TABLE 2     *The formulas of remissions of sins for different purposes (cont.)*

|               | Crusades  |           |           |           |           |           | Princes   |           |           |           |           |           | Prelates  |           |           |           |           |           | Privileges |           |           |           |           |           |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|               | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec. | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. | rem. pec.  | ven. pec. | abs. pec. | pec. ind. | abs. del. | ven. del. |
| Victor II     |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Stephen IX    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           | 1         |
| Nicholaus II  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1          | 4         |           |           |           |           |
| Alexander II  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            | 2         | 2         |           | 1         |           |
| Gregory VII   |           |           | 3         |           |           |           | 1         |           | 13        | 4         |           |           |           | 2         | 7         | 1         |           |           | 2          | 2         |           |           |           |           |
| Victor III    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Urban II      | 2         |           | 1         |           |           |           | 2         |           | 1         |           | 1         |           |           | 2         |           |           |           |           |            | 2         | 4         | 1         |           |           |
| Paschal II    | 1         | 2         | 3         |           |           |           | 3         | 1         | 2         | 1         |           |           |           | 2         |           |           |           |           |            | 1         | 1         | 2         |           |           |
| Gelasius II   |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Calixtus II   | 1         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |           | 2         |           |           |           | 6          | 2         | 2         | 1         |           |           |
| Honorius II   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1          | 2         |           |           |           |           |
| Innocent II   | 1         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           | 2         |           | 2         |           |           |           | 8          | 6         |           |           |           |           |
| Celestine II  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Lucius II     |           |           |           |           |           |           | 2         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           | 1          |           |           |           |           |           |
| Eugenius III  | 5         |           | 2         |           |           |           | 4         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Anastasius II |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Hadrian IV    | 1         | 1         |           |           |           | 2         | 3         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |            | 2         |           |           |           |           |
| Alexander III | 15        | 1         | 2         | 4         | 1         |           | 11        | 6         |           |           |           | 2         | 2         | 2         |           |           |           | 2         | 3          |           | 1         | 1         |           | 1         |
| Lucius III    | 2         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Urban III     |           |           |           |           |           |           | 2         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | 1          |           |           |           |           |           |
| Gregory VIII  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Clement III   |           |           |           |           |           |           | 2         |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |            |           |           |           |           |           |
| Celestine III | 1         | 1         |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           | 1         |           |           |           |           |           | 4          |           | 1         |           |           |           |
| Innocent III  | 64        | 21        |           | 4         |           |           | 30        |           |           |           |           |           | 14        |           |           |           | 1         |           | 2          | 1         |           | 1         |           |           |
| Sum           | 93        | 26        | 12        | 8         | 1         | 2         | 64        | 8         | 17        | 5         | 1         | 2         | 21        | 4         | 14        | 3         | 1         | 2         | 30         | 27        | 12        | 7         | 2         | 2         |
| Sum group     |           |           |           | 142       |           |           |           |           |           | 97        |           |           |           |           | 45        |           |           |           |            |           | 80        |           |           |           |
| % of all rem. |           |           |           | 34%       |           |           |           |           |           | 23%       |           |           |           |           | 10%       |           |           |           |            |           | 19%       |           |           |           |

The search parameters as well as references for the individual hits can be found in the footnotes of chapters 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.2.



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